



# POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA

HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A., Ph.D.,



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FROM THE ACCESSION OF PARIKSHIT TO THE  
EXTINCTION OF THE GUPTA DYNASTY

BY

HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A., Ph.D.,  
LECTURER IN HISTORY, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY; FORMERLY PROFESSOR  
OF HISTORY, PRESIDENCY COLLEGE, CALCUTTA; DEBHAU SCHOLAR,  
GRIFFITH PRIZEMAN; AUTHOR OF "THE EARLY HISTORY  
OF THE VAISENAVA SECT."

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To

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee

in token of grateful regard and esteem.

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

A new edition of the *Political History of Ancient India from the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty* is placed before the public. The work has been out of print for some time, and need has long been felt for a fresh edition. Therefore it goes forth once more having been revised and re-written in the light of the new information that is coming in so rapidly and in such vast bulk. No pains have been spared to bring the book up to date, and make it more attractive to students. Material emendations have been made in almost every chapter. Some of the extracts in Sanskrit have been provided with English renderings. New paragraphs, sections, appendices and genealogical tables have been added where necessary, the more important additions will be found on pages 5n, 14, 48, 50, 72f, 88n, 118, 178n, 190nf, 195n, 205n, 207, 234f, 254f, 266n, 267, 300, 302, 314n, 315n, 321f, 337, 345n, 350n, 361n, 380f and 386f.

Attention may be called here to the fact not noticed in the text that in the Harivansha there is a passage (I. 14, 17) which characterises the Pahlavas as *Śmaērudhā-rinah*. Judged by this test, kings of the family of Rañjubula and Nahapāna, who are not often taken to be Parthians, could not have belonged to that nationality as their portraits found on coins (JRAS, 1913, bet. pp. 630-631) show no traces of beards. They were, therefore, almost certainly Sakas. Regarding the controversy about Patika, pp. 284-85, it may be noted that the Rājatarangini furnishes an instance of a son being replaced by his father as king (*cf.* the case of Pārtha), and of a king abdicating in favour of his son and again resuming control over the kingdom (*cf.* the case of Kalasa who continued to be a co-ruler after the resumption of control by his father).

A word may here be added about Dr. Thomas' citation of the rule of Pāṇini II. 2. 15. This is a *Samāsa* rule and hardly refers to the cases to which Thomas applies it.

A new feature of the present volume is the inclusion of a number of maps, and a few chronological and synchronistic tables, which, it is to be hoped, will increase the usefulness of the work. The incorporation of fresh material has necessitated a recasting of the indexes.

The present writer never intended his work to be a comprehensive survey of the political and dynastic history of every Indian province. He is chiefly concerned with those kingdoms and empires whose influence transcended provincial limits and had an important bearing upon the general course of political events in the heart and nerve-centres of the Indian sub-continent. Dynasties of mere local interest (*e.g.*, the Tamil *Prachanitas* of the far south, or the Himalayan *Pratyantatas* in the far north) have received very brief notice, as these did not acquire an all-India importance till after the Gupta period when a Jayadeva Parachakrakāma had intimate dynastic relations with several rulers of the Indian interior, a Lalitāditya pushed his conquests as far as Kanauj, and a Rājendra Chola carried his arms to the banks of the Ganges.

Further, the author does not claim for the period from Parikshit to Bimbisāra the same degree of authenticity as for the age of the Mauryas, the Sātavāhanas and the Guptas. The absence of trustworthy contemporary dynastic records makes it preposterous to put forward such a proposition. In regard to the early period it has been his principal endeavour to show that the huge fabric of sacerdotal and rhapsodic legends is not based solely on the mythical fancy of mendacious priests and

story-telling Diaskenasts, that bardic tales sometimes conceal kernels of sober facts not less trustworthy than the current accounts of the dynasties immediately preceding the raid of Alexander, and that chronological relation of the national transactions before 600 B. C. is not impossible. In trying to demonstrate this he has not confined himself to literature of a particular type, but has collated the whole mass of evidence, Vedic as well as Purānic, Brahmanical as well as non-Brahmanical, Buddhist as well as Jain, Indian as well as Hellenic.

The writer of these pages wishes to acknowledge with sincere thanks his indebtedness to scholars and critics who have helped him with valuable suggestions, and especially to Dr. Barnett, Professor Schrader, Dr. Jarl Charpentier, Mr. H. Subbaiya and Mr. Asananda Nag. He is also grateful for the kind assistance which he received in many difficulties from his friends and colleagues, among whom Mr. Sailendranath Mitra, Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterji, Mr. H. C. Ray and Mr. J. C. Chakravorti deserve especial mention. His acknowledgments are also due to Srijut Golapchandra Raychaudhuri who gave him much valuable help in the preparation of maps and the revision of the Indexes. The author does not claim that the Indexes are exhaustive, but he has spared no pains to include all important references.

THE UNIVERSITY, CALCUTTA:

H. C. B. C.

*April 12, 1927.*

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The object of the following pages is to sketch the political history of Ancient India from the accession of Parikshit to the extinction of the Gupta Dynasty. The idea of the work suggested itself many years ago from observing a tendency in some of the current books to dismiss the history of the period from the Bhārata war to the rise of Buddhism as incapable of arrangement in definite chronological order. The author's aim has been to present materials for an authentic chronological history of ancient Indis, including the neglected Post-Bhārata period, but excluding the Epoch of the Kanauj Empires which properly falls within the domain of the historian of Mediæval India.

The volume now offered to the public consists of two parts. In the first part an attempt has been made to furnish, from a comparison of the Vedic, Epic, Purānic, Jaina, Buddhist and secular Brahmanical literature, such a narrative of the political vicissitudes of the Post-Pārikshita-pre-Bimbisārian period as may not be less intelligible to the reader than Dr. Smith's account of the transactions of the Post-Bimbisārian age. It has also been thought expedient to append, towards the end of this part, a short chapter on kingship in the Brāhmaṇa-Jataka period. The purpose of the second part is to provide a history of the period from Bimbisāra to the Guptas which will be, to a certain extent, more up to date, if less voluminous, than the classic work of Dr. Smith.

The greater part of the volume now published was written some years ago, and the author has not had the opportunity to discuss some of the novel theories

advanced in recent works like *The Cambridge History of India*, and Mr. Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*.

The writer of these pages offers his tribute of respect to the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for providing opportunities for study which render it possible for a young learner to carry on investigation in the subject of his choice. To Professor D. R. Bhandarkar the author is grateful for the interest taken in the progress of the work. His acknowledgments are also due to Messrs. Girindramohan Sarkar and Rameschandra Raychaudhuri for their assistance in preparing the Indexes. Lastly, this preface cannot be closed without a word of thanks to Mr. A. C. Ghatak, the Superintendent, for his help in piloting the work through the Press.

July 16, 1923.

H. C. R.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

A. G. I. ...	... Ancient Geography of India.
A. H. D. ...	... Ancient History of the Deccan.
A. I. H. T. ...	... Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.
Ait. Br. ...	... Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
Alex. ...	... Plutarch's Life of Alexander.
App. ...	... Appendix.
A. R. I. ...	... Aryan Rule in India.
A. S. I. ...	... Archaeological Survey of India.
A. S. R. ...	... Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India.
A. S. W. I. ...	... Archaeological Survey of Western India.
A. V. ...	... Atharva Veda.
Bau. Sūtra	... Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra.
Bhand. Com. Vol.	... Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.
Br. ...	... Brāhmaṇa.
Brih. Up. ...	... Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad.
Bud. Ind. ...	... Buddhist India.
C. A. H. ...	... Cambridge Ancient History.
Calc. Rev. ...	... Calcutta Review.
Camb. Ed. ...	... Cambridge Edition.
Camb. Hist. Ind. } (C. H. I.)	Cambridge History of India (Vol I.).
Carm. Lect. ...	... Carmichael Lectures, 1918.
Chh. Up. ...	... Chhāndogya Upanishad.
C. I. L. ...	... Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
Cunn. ...	... Cunningham.
D. ...	... Dīghanikāya.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Dialogues ...	... Dialogues of the Buddha.
Ed. ...	... Edition.
E. H. I. ...	... Early History of India.
Ep. Ind. ...	... Epigraphia Indica.
Gandhāra (Foucher)	... Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhāra.
Gaz. ...	... Gazetteer.
G. E. ...	... Gupta Era.
G. E. I. ...	... Great Epic of India.
Gop. Br. ...	... Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.
G. O. S. ...	... Gaekwar Oriental Series.
Hariv. ...	... Harivāṁśa.
H. and F. ...	... Hamilton and Falconer's Translation of Strabo's Geo- graphy.
H. F. A. I. C. ...	... History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon.
H. O. S. ...	... Harvard Oriental Series.
I. H. Q. ...	... Indian Historical Quarterly.
Ind. Ant. ...	... Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Lit. ...	... History of Indian Literature.
Inv. Alex. ...	... Invasion of Alexander.
J. ...	... Jātaka.
J. A. ...	... Journal Asiatique.
J. A. O. S. ...	... Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J. A. S. B. ...	... Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. B. O. R. S. ...	... Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J. R. A. S. ...	... Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Kaush. Up. ...	... Kaushitaki Upanishad.
Kaut. ...	... Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, Mysore, 1919.

Life	...	... The life of Hiuen Tsang.
M.	...	... Majjhima Nikāya.
M. A. S. I.	...	... Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
Mat.	...	... Matsya Purāṇa.
Mbh.	...	... Mahābhārata.
Med. Hind. Ind.	...	... Medieval Hindu India.
M. R.	...	... Minor Rock Edict.
N.	...	... Nikāya.
P.	...	... Purāṇa.
Pt. (Pat.)	...	... Patañjali.
Rām.	...	... Rāmāyaṇa.
R. V.	...	... Rig-Veda.
Sans. Lit.	...	... Sanskrit Literature.
Sat. Br.	...	... Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.
S. B. E.	...	... Sacred Books of the East.
S. E.	...	... Saka Era.
S. I. I.	...	... South Indian Inscriptions.
V.	...	... Veda.
Ved. Ind.	...	... Vedic Index.
Viz. Dist. Gaz.	...	... Vizagapatam District Gazetteer.
Z. D. M. G.	...	... Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

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# Political History of Ancient India

## PART I

### From the Accession of Parikshit to the Coronation of Bimbisara

#### FOREWORD

No Thueydides or Tacitus has left for posterity a genuine history of Ancient India. But the patient investigations of numerous scholars and archaeologists have opened up rich stores of material for the reconstruction of the ancient history of our country.

The first notable attempt to "sort and arrange the accumulated and ever-growing stores of knowledge" was made by Dr. Vincent Smith. But the excellent historian, failing to find sober history in bardic tales, ignored the period immediately succeeding "the famous war waged on the banks of the Jumna, between the sons of Kuru and the sons of Pāṇḍu," and took as his starting point the middle of the seventh century B.C. My aim has been to sketch in outline the dynastic history of Ancient India including the neglected period. I have taken as my starting point the accession of Parikshit which, according to Epic and Purānic tradition, took place shortly after the Bhārata War.

Valuable information regarding the Pārikshita and the post-Pārikshita periods has been given by eminent scholars like Weber, Oldenberg, Macdonell, Keith, Rhys

Davids, Pargiter, Bhandarkar and others. But the attempt to frame an outline of political history from Parikshit to Bimbisara out of materials supplied by Brâhmaic as well as non-Brâhmaic literature is, I believe, made for the first time in the following pages.

### SOURCES

No inscription or coin has unfortunately been discovered which can be referred, with any amount of certainty, to the post-Parikshita-pre-Bimbisarian period. The South Indian plates purporting to belong to the reign of Janamejaya (Ep. Ind., VII App., pp. 162-163) have been proved to be spurious. Our chief reliance must, therefore, be placed upon literary evidence. Unfortunately this evidence is purely Indian, and is not supplemented by those foreign notices which have "done more than any archaeological discovery to render possible the remarkable resuscitation" of the history of the post-Bimbisarian period.

Indian literature useful for the purpose of the historian of the post-Parikshita-pre-Bimbisarian age may be divided into five classes, *viz.* :—

I. Brâhmaical literature of the post-Parikshita-pre-Bimbisarian period. This class of literature naturally contributes the most valuable information regarding the history of the earliest dynasties and comprises:

- (a) The last book of the Atharva Veda.
- (b) The Aitareya, Satapatha, Taittiriya and other ancient Brâhmaṇas.
- (c) The Brihadâraṇyaka, Chhândogya and other classical Upanishads.

That these works belong to the post-Parikshita period is proved by repeated references to Parikshit, to his son Janamejaya, and to Janaka of Videha at whose court the

fate of the Pārikshitas was made the subject of a philosophical discussion. That these works are pre-Buddhistic and, therefore, pre-Bimbisārian has been proved by competent critics like Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra (*Translation of the Chhāndogya Upanishad*, pp. 23-24), Professor Macdonell (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 189, 202-203, 226) and others.

II. The second class comprises Brāhmaṇical works to which no definite date can be assigned, but large portions of which, in the opinion of competent critics, belong to the post-Bimbisārian period. To this class belong the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. The present Rāmāyaṇa not only mentions Buddha Tathāgata (II. 109. 34), but distinctly refers to the struggles of the Hindus with mixed hordes of Yavanas and Sakas, यकान् यवनमिथितान् (I. 54. 21). In the Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa (IV. 43. 11-12), Sugrīva places the country of the Yavanas and the cities of the Sakas between the country of the Kurus and the Mādras, and the Himalayas. This shows that the Greco-Scythians at that time occupied parts of the Punjab. The Lanka Kāṇḍa (69-82) apparently refers to the Purāṇic episode of the uplifting of Mount Govardhana (*Parigrīhya girīndor-bhyām vapur Vishnor viḍambayan*<sup>1</sup>).

As regards the present Mahābhārata, Hopkins says (*Great Epic of India*, pp. 391-393). "Buddhist supremacy already decadent is implied by passages which allude contemptuously to the edūkas or Buddhist monuments as having ousted the temples of the gods. Thus in III. 190. 65 'They will reverse edūkas, they will neglect the gods'; *ib.* 67 'the earth shall be piled with edūkas, not adorned with godhouses.' With such expressions may be compared the thoroughly Buddhist epithet,

<sup>1</sup> For other Purāṇic allusions see *Calcutta Review*, March, 1922, pp. 500-502.

Cāturmahārājika in XII. 339, 40 and Buddhistic philosophy as expounded in the same book."

"The Greeks are described as a western people and their overthrow is alluded to ..... The Romans, Rōmakas, are mentioned but once, in a formal list of all possible peoples II. 51. 17, and stand thus in marked contrast to the Greeks and Persians, Pahlavas, who are mentioned very often ..... The distinct prophecy that 'Scythians, Greeks and Bactrians will rule unrighteously in the evil age to come' which occurs in III. 188. 35 is too clear a statement to be ignored or explained away."

The Ādiparva (I. 67. 13-14) refers to King Aśoka who is represented as an incarnation of a Mahāsura, and is described as "mahāvīryo'parajitah." We have also a reference (Mbh. I. 189. 21-23) to a Greek overlord (Yavanādhipaḥ) of Sauvira and his compatriot Dattāmitra (Demetrios?). The Sānti Parva mentions Yāska, the author of the Nirukta (342. 73), Vārshaganya (818. 59) the Sāṃkhya philosopher who probably flourished in the fifth century after Christ (J.R.A.S., 1905, pp. 47-51), and Kāmandaka (123. 11), the authority on Dharma and Artha, who is probably to be identified with the famous disciple of Kautilya.

The Purāṇas which contain lists of kings of the Kali Age cannot be placed earlier than the third or fourth century A. D., because they refer to the Andhra kings and even to the post-Andhras.

It is clear from what has been stated above that the Epics and Purāṇas, in their present shape, are late works which are no better suited to serve as the foundation of the history of the pre-Bimbisārian age than the tales of the Mahāvaihā and the Aśokāvadāna are adapted to form the bases of chronicles of the doings of the great Maurya. At the same time we shall not be justified in rejecting their evidence wholesale because much of it

is undoubtedly old and valuable. The warning to handle critically, which Dr. Smith considered necessary with regard to the Ceylonese chronicles, is certainly applicable to the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas.

III. The third class of literature comprises Brahmanical works of the Post-Bimbisārian period to which a date in a definite epoch may be assigned, e.g., the Arthashastra attributed to Kautilya who flourished in the Maurya epoch,<sup>1</sup> the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (second century B.C.), etc. The value of these important works can hardly be overestimated. They form sheet anchors in the troubled sea of Indian chronology. Their evidence with regard to the pre-Bimbisārian age is certainly inferior to that of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads, but the very fact that such information as they contain comes from persons of known date, makes it more valuable than the Epic and Purāṇic tradition, the antiquity and authenticity of which can always be called in question.

IV. To the fourth class belong the Buddhist Suttas, Vinaya texts and the Jātakas. Most of these works are assignable to pre-Sunga times. They furnish a good deal of useful information regarding the period which immediately preceded the accession of Bimbisāra. They have also the merit of preserving Buddhist versions of ancient stories, and vouchsafe light when the light from Brahmanical sources begins to fail.

<sup>1</sup> According to some scholars the Arthashastra literature is later than the Dharmashāstras, and dates only from about the third century A. D. But the prevalence of the study of Arthashastra in a much earlier epoch is proved by the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I, and the existence of treatises on Arthashastra is rendered probable by the mention of technical terms like "Prapaya," "Vishpi," etc. It is interesting to note that the Kautilya which purports to be a compendium of pre-existing Arthashastras, does not quote the views of previous Āchāryas in the Chapter on "Prapaya" (Bk. V, ch. 2). It is, therefore, not unlikely that Rudradāman I, who claims to have studied the Arthashastra, learnt the use of the term from the Kautilya itself and not from a pre-Kautilyan treatise.

V. To the fifth class belong works of the Jaina canon which were reduced to writing in A.D. 454 (S. B. E., Vol. XXII, p. xxxvii, XLV, p. xl). They give valuable information regarding many kings who lived during the pre-Bimbisārian Age. But their late date makes their evidence not wholly reliable.

#### THE AGE OF THE PĀRIKSHITAS

We have taken as our starting point the reign of Parikshit whose accession, according to tradition, took place shortly after the Bharata War.

Was there really a king named Parikshit? True, he is mentioned in the Mahabharata and the Purāṇas. But the mere mention of a king in this kind of literature is no sure proof of his historical existence unless we have external evidence to corroborate the Epic and Purāṇic account.

Parikshit appears in a famous laud of the Twentieth Book of the Atharva Veda-Samhitā (A.V., XX. 127. 7-10) as a king of the Kurus (Kauravya) whose *rāshtra* flowed with milk and honey. We quote the entire passage below.

"Rājño viśvajaniṇasya yo devomartyām ati  
 Vaiśvānarasya sushtutimā sunotā Parikṣitāḥ  
 Parichchinnah kshemamakarot tama āsanamācharan  
 Kulsyan kṛīṇvan Kauravyaḥ patirvadati jāyayā  
 Katarat ta śharāṇi dadhi manthām pari śrutam  
 Jāyāḥ patim vi prīcchehati rāshṭre rājñāḥ Parikṣitāḥ  
 Abhivasyaḥ pra jihite yavaḥ pakkaḥ patho bilam  
 Janah sa bhadramedhati rāshṭre rājñāḥ Parikṣitāḥ."

"Listen ye to the high praise of the king who rules over all peoples, the god who is above mortals, of Vaiśvānara

Parikshit! Parikshit has produced for us a secure dwelling when he, the most excellent one, went to his seat. (Thus) the husband in Kuru land, when he finds his household, converses with his wife.

"What may I bring to thee, curds, stirred drink or liquor? (Thus) the wife asks her husband in the kingdom of king Parikshit.

"Like light the ripe barley runs over beyond the mouth (of the vessels). The people thrive merrily in the kingdom of king Parikshit."—(Bloomfield, Atharva Veda, pp. 197-198.)

Roth and Bloomfield regard Parikshit in the Atharva Veda as a divine being. But Zimmer and Oldenberg recognize Parikshit as a human king, a view supported by the fact that in the Altareya and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas the famous king Janamejaya bears the patronymic Pārikshita. Cf. the following passage of the Altareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 21).

"Etena ha vā Aindrena mahābhishkepsa Turah Kāvashyevo Janamejayam Pārikshitam abhishecha."

Referring to king Parikshit, Macdonell and Keith observe (Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 494): "The Epic makes him grand-father of Pratiśravas and great-grand-father of Pratipa." Now, the Epic has really two Parikshits, one a son of Avikshit or Anāśva, and an ancestor of Pratiśravas and Pratipa, the other a descendant of Pratipa and a son of Abhimanyu (Mahābhārata, Ādi-parva, 94. 52 and 95. 41). We shall call the former Parikshit I, and the latter Parikshit II. Was Parikshit I of the Epic identical with the Vedic Parikshit? The Vedic Parikshit had four sons, namely, Janamejaya, Ugrasena, Bhimasena and Śrutaseṇa (Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 520). The Epic Parikshit I, on the other hand, had only one son (Bhimasena) according to Chapter 95, verse 42 of the Ādi-parva of the Mahābhārata, and seven sons (Janamejaya,

Kakshasena, Ugrasena, Chitrasena, Indrasena, Sushena and Bhimasena) according to Chapter 94, verses 54-55, and among these the name of Śrutasena does not occur. Even Janamejaya is omitted in Chapter 95 and in the Java text (JRAS, 1913, p. 6). There is no king of that name immediately after Parikshit I, also in the Kuru Pāṇḍu genealogy given in the Chellur or Cocanada grant of Virachodha (Hultzsch, S.I.I. Vol. I, p. 57). The Epic poet, and the writer of the Chodha inscription which is much older than many extant manuscripts of the Mbh., therefore, were not quite sure whether this Parikshit (I) was the father of Janamejaya and Śrutasena. On the other hand, according to the unanimous testimony of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas Parikshit II had undoubtedly a son named Janamejaya who succeeded him on the throne. Thus, the Mahābhārata, referring to Parikshit II, the son of Abhimanyu, says (I. 95. 85) :—

“Parikshit khalu Mādravatīm nāmopayeme tvaṁstaram. Tasyāṁ bhavān Janamejayah.”

The Matsya Purāṇa says (Mat. 50. 57) :—

“Abhimanyoḥ Parikshittu putraḥ parapurañjayah  
Janamejayah Parikshitaḥ putraḥ paramadharmaikah.”

This Janamejaya had three brothers, namely, Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhimasena :—“Janamejayah Pārikshitaḥ saha bhratribhiḥ Kurukshetre dirgha satram opāste tasya bhratara strayah Śrutasena Ugrasena Bhimasena iti” (Mbh. I. 3. 1).

Particulars regarding the son and successor of the Vedic Parikshit agree well with what we know of the son and successor of the Epic and Purāṇic Parikshit II. Janamejaya, the son of the Vedic Parikshit, is mentioned in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa as a performer of the Aśvamedha. The priest who performed the sacrifice for him

was Indrota Daivspa Saunaka. On the other hand, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which also mentions his Aśvamedha names Tura Kāvasheya as his priest. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (IX. 22. 25-26), too, distinctly mentions Tura Kāvasheya as the priest of Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu, and the son of Parikshit II.

Kāvasheyaiḥ purodhāya Turam turaga medhayat  
Samantat prithivīt saryam jītvā yakshyati chādbvarailih.

The statements of the Śatapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas are apparently conflicting, and can only be reconciled if we surmise that Janamejaya performed two horse sacrifices. Is there any evidence that he actually did so? Curiously enough the Purāṇas give the evidence which is needed. The Matsya Purāṇa speaking of Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu and the son of Parikshit II, says:

Dvir aśvamedham abhritya mahāvājasaneyakaḥ  
Pravartayitvā tathā saryam rishim Vājasaneyakam  
Vivāde Brāhmaṇaibhā sārddham abhiśapto vanam yayau.

(Mat. 50. 63-64.)

The quarrel with the Brāhmaṇas, alluded to in the last line, is also mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 27).

Parikshit II has thus a better claim than Parikshit I to be regarded as identical with the Vedic Parikshit. It is, however, possible that Parikshit I and Parikshit II were really one and the same individual, but the Epic and Purāṇic poets had some doubts as to whether he was to be regarded as an ancestor or a descendant of the Pāṇḍavas. The fact that not only the name Parikshit, but the names of most of the sons (in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa the names of all the sons) are common to both, points

to the same conclusion. We shall show later on that a Kuru prince named Abhipratarin Kakshaseni (*i.e.*, the son of Kakshasena) was one of the immediate successors of the Vedic Janamejaya. Kakshasena thus appears to have been a very near relation of Janamejaya. Now a prince of that name actually appears as a brother of Janamejaya and a son of Parikshit I, in chapter 94 of the *Mahabharata*. This fact seems to identify the Vedic Parikshit with Parikshit I of the Epic. But we have already seen that other facts are in favour of an identification with Parikshit II. Parikshit I and Parikshit II, therefore, appear to have been really one and the same individual. That there was a good deal of confusion regarding the parentage of Parikshit, and the exact position of the king and his sons in the Kuru genealogy is apparent from the dynastic lists given by the Great Epic and the *Vishnu Purana*. The latter work says (IV, 20, 1) "Parikshito Janamejaya Srutasen-Ograsena-Bhimasenās chatrānāli putrāḥ." It then gives the names of Kuru princes down to the Pāṇḍus and Parikshit II, and adds (IV, 21, 1), "Atahparam bhavishyān abam bhūmipālān kirtayishye. Yo 'yam sāmpratam evanipatib tasyāpi Janamejaya-Srutasen-Ograsena-Bhimasenāḥ putrāś chatvāro bhavishyanti." The confusion may have been due to the fact that according to one tradition Parikshit, the father of Janamejaya, was the ancestor of the Pāṇḍus, while according to another and a more reliable tradition he was their descendant, and the Epic and the Purānic writers sought to reconcile the traditions by postulating the existence of two Parikshits and two Janamejayas. The important fact to remember is that Parikshit, with whose accession our history begins, should be identified with his Vedic namesake.<sup>1</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> The necessity felt for offering an explanation of the name of Abhimanyu's son, and the explanation itself probably suggest that the tradition of an earlier Kuru king with the name of Parikshit had not yet come into existence (*cf.* *Mbh.* X, 16, 8).

Conclusion follows from facts to which reference has already been made. We have seen that all the known facts about Parikshit II, the king who ruled after the Bharata war, and his sons tally with what we know about the Vedic Parikshit and his sons. There cannot be any doubt as to his historical reality.

Parikshit is said to have married a Madra princess (Mádravati) and to have ruled for 24 years, dying at the age of sixty (Mbh. I. 49. 17-26 with commentary). But stories about him in the epic and the Purāṇas are obviously legendary. The only facts that can be accepted as historical are that he was a king of the Kurus, that the people lived prosperously under his rule, that he had many sons, and that the eldest prince Janamejaya succeeded him.

It will not be quite out of place here to say a few words about the kingdom of Kuru over which Parikshit ruled. The kingdom extended from the Sarasvati to the Ganges, and was divided into three parts, Kurujāṅgala, the Kurus and Kurukshetra (Mbh. I. 109. 1). Kurujāṅgala, as its name implies, was the wild region of the Kuru realm extending as far as the Kāmyaka forest. But in certain passages it is used in a wider sense to designate the entire kingdom. The Kurus proper were probably located in the district round Hastinapura (identified with a place near Mirat). The boundaries of Kurukshetra are given in a passage of the Taittiriya Āranyaka (Vedic Index, I, pp. 169-70) as being Khāṇḍava on the south, the Tūṛghna on the north, and the Parīṇā on the west. The Mahābhārata (III. 83. 204-208) gives the following description of Kurukshetra: "South of the Sarasvati and north of the Drishadvati, he who lives in Kurukshetra really lives in heaven....The region that lies between Tarunṭuka, and Arantuka, the lakes of Rāma and Machakruka—this is

Kurukshtera which is also called Sāmantapañchaka and the northern sacrificial altar (*uttaravedi*) of the grandsire (*i.e.*, Brāhma). Roughly speaking, the Kuru kingdom corresponded to the modern Thanesar, Delhi and the upper Doab. Within the kingdom flowed the rivers Hiranvati, Kausiki, Arunā, Āpayā and the Pastyā as well as the Sarasvati and the Drishadvati. Here, too, was situated Saryanāvanta, which the authors of the Vedic Index consider to have been a lake, like that known to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa by the name of Anyataḥ-plakṣa.

The capital of the kingdom was Asandivant (Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 72). This city was probably identical with Hastinapura, the capital which was abandoned by Nichakshu, the famous descendant of Parikshit, when he removed to Kauśambi.

Gangayāpahrite tasmin nagare Nagasahvaye.

Tyaktvā Nichakshu nāgarām Kauśambhyām ss nivatesyati.

(Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 5.)

According to epic tradition the kings of Kurukshtera belonged to the Pūru-Bharata family. The Paurava connection of the Kurus is suggested by the Rigvedic hymn (X. 83) which refers to "Kuru-śravana" as a descendant of Trasadasyn a famous king of the Pūrus. The connection of the Bharatas with the Kurus is also attested by Vedic evidence. Oldenberg says (Buddha, pp. 409-410):—"We find in the Rik-Samhitā trace of a peculiar position occupied by the Bharatas, a special connection of theirs with important points of sacred significance, which are recognized throughout the whole circle of ancient Vedic culture. Agni is Bharata, *i.e.*, propitious or belonging to the Bharata or Bharatas; among the protecting deities who are invoked in the Apri-odes, we find Bhārati, the personified divine

protective power of the Bharatas. We find the Sarasvati constantly named in connection with her; must not the sacred river Sarasvati be the river of the holy people, the Bharatas? In one ode of the Mandala, which specially extols the Bharatas (III. 23), the two Bhāratas, Devagrava and Devavāta, are spoken of, who have generated Agni by friction: on the Drishadvati, on the Āpsyā, on the Sarasvati may Agni beam. We find thus Bharata princes sacrificing in the land on the Drishadvati and on the Sarasvati. Now the land on the Drishadvati and on the Sarasvati is that which is later on so highly celebrated as Kurukshetra. Thus the testimonies of the Samhitā and the Brāhmaṇa combine to establish the close connection of the ideas Bharata, Karu, Sarasvati.

"Out of the struggles in which the migratory period of the Vedic stocks was passed, the Bharatas issued, as we believe we are entitled to suppose the course of events to have been, as the possessors of the regions round the Sarasvati and Drishadvati. The weapons of the Bharata princes and the poetical fame of their Rishis may have co-operated to acquire for the cult of the Bharatas the character of universally acknowledged rule, and for the Bharatas a kind of sacral hegemony: hence Agni as friend of the Bharatas, the goddess Bhārati, the sacredness of the Sarasvati and Drishadvati."

"Then came the period, when the countless small stocks of the Samhitā aga were fused together to form the greater peoples of the Brāhmaṇa period. The Bharatas found their place, probably together with their old enemies, the Pūrus, within the great complex of peoples now in process of formation, the Kurus; their sacred land now became Kurukshetra."

Among those kings who are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Adi parva, Chapters 94 and 95) as ancestors

and predecessors of Parikshit, the names of the following occur in the Vedic literature:—

Puru-ravas Aila (Rig-Veda, X. 95 ; Sat-Br., XI. 5. 1. 1), Ayu (Rig-Veda I. 53. 10, 11. 14. 7, etc.), Yayati Nahushya (R. V., I. 31. 17; X. 63. 1), Puru (R. V., VII. 8. 4; 18. 13), Bharata Danashanti Saudyumai (Sat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 11-12), Ajamidha (R. V., IV. 44. 6), Riksha (R. V., VIII. 68-15), Kuru (frequently mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa literature, cf. Kuru-śravas, Rig-Veda, X. 33), Uchchaisravas (Jaiminiya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa III. 29. 1-3), Pratipa Pratisutvana or Pratisutvau (Atharva Veda, XX. 129. 2), Balhika Pratipliya (Sat. Br., XII. 9. 3. 3), Saṁtanu (R. V., X. 93), and Dhritarashtra Vaichitravirya (Kāthaka Sainhitā, X. 6).

The occurrence of these names in the Vedic texts probably prove their historicity, but it is difficult to say how far the epic account of their relationship with Parikshit is reliable. But some of the kings, e.g., Saṁtanu were undoubtedly of the same race (Kauravya) as Parikshit.

Puru-ravas Aila, the first king in the above list, is said to have been the son of a ruler who migrated from Bahlī or Bactria to India (Rām. VII. 103. 21-22). Tradition recorded in the Papañcasūdani represents the Kurus—the most important branch of the Ailas according to the epics and the Purāṇas—as colonists from the trans-Himalayan region known as Uttara Kuru.<sup>1</sup> Bharata, the fifth king in the above list, firmly established his power in the "Middle country," i.e., the Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna, after defeating the Satavats, and the epic tradition that he was the progenitor of the Kuru royal family is, as we have seen, in agreement with Rig-Vedic evidence which connects the Bharatas with the

<sup>1</sup> See, Ancient Mid-Indian Kshatriya Tribes, p. 16.

same territory which afterwards became famous as Kuru-kshetra. The history of the Kuru royal line becomes more definite from the time of Sañtanu who was fifth in the ascending line from Parikshit. Regarding the events of Parikshit's reign we have little reliable information. We only know that the drought that threatened the Kuru realm in the time of Sañtanu had passed away and the "people throve merrily in the kingdom of Parikshit."

The date of Parikshit is a matter regarding which the Vedic texts give no direct information. There is, however, a remarkable verse, found with slight variants in all the historical Purāṇas, which places his birth 1050 (or 1015 according to the *e* Vāyu, Vishṇu, and Bhāgavata Purāṇas) years before Mahāpadma, the first Nanda king of Magadha.

Mahāpadm-ābhisekātta  
 Yāvajjanma Parikshitah  
 Evam varsha sahasrāntu  
 Jñeyam padēśadutaram.

(Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 58.)

If, accepting the Ceylonese chronology (Geiger, Mahāvamsa, p. 27), we place the first Nanda twenty-two years before the accession of Chandragupta Maurya, i.e., in  $322 + 22 = 344$  B.C., Parikshit's birth must be dated about 1394 B.C. (1359 B.C. according to the *e* Vāyu and Vishṇu Purāṇas). If, on the other hand, we give credence to the testimony of the Vāyu Purāṇa (93, 328-329, "Ashatavim-sati varshāṇi prithivīm pālayishyati," etc.) and take 40 years (Mahāpadma, 28+his sons' 12) to be the reign-period of Nanda and his sons, then Parikshit's birth must be dated about  $322 + 40 + 1,050 = 1412$  B.C. (1377 B.C. according to the *e* Vāyu and Vishṇu Purāṇas). He is said to have come to the throne 36 years later in 1376 or 1341 B.C. (*cf.* Mahābhārata Mausala-parva, "Shattrimse

tvatha saunpræpte varshie," etc., and Mahāprasthānikaparva, "abhisichya svarajye cha rājñañcha Parikshitam)." It is clear that epic and Purāṇic tradition places the accession of Parikshit about the middle of the 14th century B. C. Vedic evidence, however, points to a much later date. We shall show in the next chapter that Parikshit's son and successor Janamejaya was separated by five or six generations of teachers from the time of Janaka and his contemporary Uddālaka Aruṇi. At the end of the Kaushitaki or Śāṅkhāyana Āranyaka (Adhyāya 15) we find a *vaiśiṣṭa* or list of the teachers by whom the knowledge contained in that Āranyaka is supposed to have been handed down. The opening words of this list run thus :—

"Om ! Now follows the *vaiśiṣṭa*. Adoration to the Brahman. Adoration to the teachers ! We have learnt this text from Guṇākbya Śāṅkhāyana, Guṇākbya Śāṅkhāyana from Kahola Kaushitaki, Kahola Kaushitaki from Uddālaka Āruṇi."

(S. E. E., Vol. XXIX, p. 4.)

From the passage quoted above it is clear that Śāṅkhāyana was separated by two generations from the time of Uddālaka who was separated by five or six generations from the time of Janamejaya. Śāṅkhāyana, therefore, flourished seven or eight generations after Janamejaya, and eight or nine generations after Parikshit. If this Śāṅkhāyana (Guṇākbya Śāṅkhāyana) be identical with the author of the Śāṅkhāyana Grīhya Sūtra he must have been a contemporary of Āśvalāyana because they mention each other in their respective works. The Praśna Upanishad tells us that Āśvalāyana was a Kuṇsalīya, i.e., an inhabitant of Kosala, and a contemporary of Kābandhi Kātyāyana. These facts enable us to identify him with Assalāyana of Sāvatthi mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya (II. 147 *et seq.*) as a famous Vedic

scholar,<sup>1</sup> and a contemporary of Gotama Buddha and hence, of Kakuda<sup>2</sup> or Pakudha Kachchayana. Consequently Āśvalasyana must have lived in the sixth century B.C. If the identification of Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhayana with the Grīhya Sūtrakāra be correct, then he, too, must have lived in the sixth century B.C.<sup>3</sup> Professor Rhys Davids in his Buddhist Suttas assigns 150 years to the five Theras from Upali to Mahinda. We may, therefore, assign 240 or 270 years to the eight or nine generations from Parikshit to Śāṅkhayana, and place Parikshit in the ninth century B.C. It is, doubtless, possible that Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhayana was not identical with the Grīhya Sūtrakāra (*cf.* S. B. E. XXIX, pp. 4-5). But the reference to Paushkarasādi and Lauhitya, who figure among the contemporaries of Buddha, in his Aranyaka, probably shows that Guṇākhyā could not have flourished earlier than the sixth century B.C.

Parikshit was succeeded on the Kuru throne by his eldest son Janamejaya. The Mahābhārata refers to a great snake sacrifice performed by this king. In this connection it is mentioned that the king conquered Taxila. Although a passage of the Pañchavimsa Brāhmaṇa connects a Janamejaya with the snake-sacrifice (Vedic Index, I, p. 274), the epic account of the Kuru king's Sarpa-satra cannot be accepted as sober history. But the conquest of Taxila may well be an historical fact, because King Janamejaya is represented as a great conqueror in the Brāhmaṇas. Thus the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says (VIII. 21) "Janamejayah Pārikshitah samantain sarmatas"

<sup>1</sup> "Tiggnā Vedēśām pāṇḍū saṅghāpiṇī kriṣṇāśām."

<sup>2</sup> As to the equation kabandhi—kakuda comp. Atharva v. (IX. 4. 3) where the rishibha sustains a labanidhi of "goodly treasure."

<sup>3</sup> In this connection it is interesting to note that among the teachers cited in the Aranyakas of Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhayana there are two whose names seem to occur in the Buddhist suttas as those of Buddha's contemporaries, e.g., Paushkarasādi of Ambajhānuṭṭa, and Lauhitya (Lauhitya) of Lohitāḍa suttas.

prithivim jayan parityāśvena cha medhyeneje tadesha'bhi<sup>1</sup>  
yajna gāthā gīyate :

Āsandivati dhānyādām rukmiṇām harita srajam  
Āsvām babandha sāraṅgam devebhyo Janamejaya iti”

“Janamejaya Pārikshita went round the earth completely, conquering on every side, and offered the horse in sacrifice. Regarding this a sacrificial verse is sung :

“In Āsandivat Janamejaya bound for the gods a black-spotted, grain-eating horse, adorned with a golden ornament and with yellow garlands.”

(Keith, Rig Veda Brāhmaṇas, 836 ;  
Eggeling, Sat. Br., V, p. 396.)

In another passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 11) it is stated that Janamejaya aspired to be a “Sarvabūmi,” i.e., a paramount sovereign.

“Evamvidam hi vai mā mevañvida yājayanti tasmād  
aham jayamyabhītvārīm senām jayāmyabhītvaryā senayā  
namā divyā na mānushya ishava richchhantye shyāmi  
sarva māyub sarva bhūmir bhavishyāmiti.”

(Janamejaya Pārikshita used to say) “Those who know thus sacrifice for me who know thus; therefore I conquer the assailing host, I conquer with an assailing host. Me neither the arrows of heaven nor of men reach. I shall live all my life, I shall become lord of all the earth.”

The possession of Taxila in the extreme north-west implies control over Madra or the Central Pañjab, the homeland of Janamejaya's mother Mādravati. In this connection it may be noted that a prince of the Paurava race ruled in the Rechna Doab down to the time of Alexander, while Ptolemy, the geographer, expressly mentions the Pāṇḍus as the rulers of Śākala (Siālkot).

It was presumably after his victorious campaigns that Janamejaya was consecrated with the Punarabbhisheka and

the Aindramahabhisheka, performed two horse-sacrifices and had a dispute with Vaiśampāyana and the Brāhmaṇas. The Matsya version, which is considered by Pargiter to be the oldest, says the king made a successful stand against them for some time, but afterwards gave in and, making his son king, departed to the forest ; but the Vāyu version says he perished and the Brāhmaṇas made his son king. The Purāṇic narrative is strikingly confirmed by the evidence of the Brāhmaṇas. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa refers to one of the horse sacrifices, and says that the priest who performed the sacrifice for him was Indrota Daivāpi Śaunaka. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa mentions the other sacrifice and names Tura Kāvashoya as his priest. It also contains a tale stating that at one sacrifice of his he did not employ the Kaśyapas, but the Bhūtaviras. Thereupon a family of the Kaśyapas called Asita-mṛiga forcibly took away the conduct of the offering from the Bhūtaviras. We have here probably the germ of the Purāṇic stories about Janamejaya's dispute with the Brāhmaṇas. An allusion to this quarrel occurs also in Kautilya's Arthaśāstra (*cf.* "Kopāj Janamejayo Brāhmaṇeshu vikrāntah").

The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa narrates an anecdote of Janamejaya and two ganders, pointing out the importance of Brahmacharya, and the time which should be devoted to it. The story is absurd, but it shows that Janamejaya was already looked upon as an ancient hero in the time of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. The Rāmāyaṇa also refers to Janamejaya as a great king of the past (II. 64.42).

Janamejaya's capital according to a gāthā quoted in the Satapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas was Āsandivant, probably identical with the famous city of Hāstīnāpura mentioned not only in the Mahābhārata, but also in the Rāmāyaṇa, II. 68.13, and the Ashtādhyāyi of Pāṇini, VI. 2. 101. The gāthā has been quoted above in connection

with the king's conquests. Its meaning is given below:—

"In Āsandivat Janamejaya bound for the gods a black-spotted, grain-eating horse, adorned with a golden ornament and with yellow garlands."

(Eggeling, *Sat. Br.*, V, p. 396.)

The palace of Janamejaya is referred to in the following passage of the *Satapatha Brahmana* :—

"Even as they constantly sprinkle the equal prize-winning steeds so (they pour out) the cups full of fiery liquor in the palace of Janamejaya."

(*Ibid.*, p. 35.)

If the *Mahābhārata* is to be believed Janamejaya sometimes held his court at Taxila, and it was at Taxila that Vaisampayana is said to have related to him the story of the great struggle between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus (*Mbh.* XVIII. 5. 34). No direct independent proof of this war is forthcoming, but a dim allusion to the battle of Kurukshetra<sup>1</sup> is probably contained in the following gāthā of the Chhāndogya Upanishad (VI. 17.9), referred to by Hopkins (*The Great Epic of India*, p. 385) :—

Yato yata āvartate tad tad gachchhati mānavah  
Kurun asvābhīrakshati,

It may be asserted that the Pāṇḍus are a body of strangers unknown to the Vedic texts, and that therefore the story of their feuds with the Kurus must be post-Vedic. But such a conclusion would be wrong because, firstly, an *argumentum ex silentio* is seldom conclusive,

<sup>1</sup> The battle of Kurukshetra is very often described as a fight between the Kurus and the Sūrijayans (*Mbh.* VI. 45, 2; 60, 29; 72, 15; 73, 41; VII. 20, 41; 148, 40; VIII. 47, 23; 67, 19; 80, 1; 93, 1). The unfriendly feeling between these two peoples is distinctly alluded to in the *Satapatha Brahmana* (*Vedic Index*, II, p. 38).

and, secondly, the Pāndus are not a body of strangers but are scions of the Kurus. Hopkins indeed says that they were an unknown folk connected with the wild tribes located north of the Ganges (the Religions of India, p. 388). But Patañjali (IV. 1.4.) calls Bhima, Nakula and Sahadeva Kurus (Ind. Ant., I, p. 250). Hindu tradition is unanimous in representing the Pāndavas as an offshoot of the Kuru race just as the Kurus themselves were an offshoot of the Bharatas. The very name of the Great Epic betrays the Bhārata (Kuru) connection of the principal heroes and combatants. The testimony of Buddhist literature points to the same conclusion. In the Dasa-Brahmā Jātaka (Jātaka No. 495) a king "of the stock of Yuddhiñhila" reigning "in the kingdom of Kuru and the city called Indapatta" is distinctly called "Koravya," i.e., Kauravya—"belonging to the Kuru race." The polyandrous marriage of the Pāṇavas does not necessarily indicate that they are of non-Kuru origin. The system of *Niyoga* prevalent among the Kurus of the Madhyadeśa was not far removed from fraternal polyandry<sup>1</sup> (Mbh. I. 103. 9-10; 105. 37-38), while the Law (Dharma) of marriage honoured by the Northern Kurus was admittedly lax (Mbh. I. 122, 7).

Already in the time of Āśvalāyana's Grīhya Sūtra (III. 4) Vaiśampāyana was known as Mahābhāratācharya. He is also mentioned in the Taittiriya Āranyaka (I. 7. 5) and the Ashtādhyāyi of Pāṇini (IV. 3. 104). Whether Vaiśampāyana was a contemporary of Janamejaya or not, cannot be ascertained at the present moment. But I have found nothing in the Vedic literature itself which goes against the epic tradition.

The early Vedic texts no doubt make no reference to the Mahābhārata, but they mention "Itihāsas" (A. V.

<sup>1</sup> See also my "Political History," pp. 95-96, Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta University), Vol. IX.

XV. 6. 11-12). It is well known that the story recited by Vaisampayana to Janamejaya was at first called an *Itihāsa* and was named "Jaya"<sup>11</sup> or victory, i.e., victory of the Pāndus, the ancestors of the king.

"Muchyate sarva pāpebhyo Rāshunā Chandramā yathā  
Jayo nāmetihāso'yati śrotavyo vijigishunā."

(Mbh. Ādi. 62. 20.)

Janamejaya's brothers, Bhimasena, Ugrasena and Śrutasesna appear in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 3) and the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI. 9. 7) as performers of the horse-sacrifice. At the time of the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad their life and end excited popular curiosity and were discussed with avidity in philosophical circles. It is clear that the sun of the Pārikshitas had set before the time of the Upanishad, and it is also clear that they had been guilty of some heinous crime which they had atoned for by their horse-sacrifice. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa quotes a gāthā which says:—

"The righteous Pārikshitas, performing horse sacrifices, by their righteous work did away with sinful work one after another."

The Purāṇas state that Janamejaya was succeeded by Śatānika. Śatānika's son and successor was Aśvamedhadatta. From Aśvamedhadatta was born Adhistimakṛishṇa famed in the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas. Adhistimakṛishṇa's son was Nichakshu. During king Nichakshu's reign the city of Hastinapura is said to have been carried away by the Ganges, and the king is said to have transferred his capital to Kauśambi (Parigiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 5).

The Vedic texts do not refer in clear terms to any of these successors of Janamejaya. The Rigveda no doubt

<sup>11</sup> Cf. C. V. Vaidya, *Mānabhāṣya : A Criticism*, p. 2; and S. Lāvī in *Bhāṣā. Com.* Vol. pp. 99 seqq.

mentions a (Bharata) king named Asvamedha (V. 27. 4-6), but there is nothing to show that he is identical with Asvamedhadatta. A Satānika Satrajita is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa as a great king who defeated Dhṛitarāshṭra, the prince of Kāsi, and took away his sacrificial horse. He, too, was probably a Bharata, but the patronymic Satrajita probably indicates that he was different from Satānika the son of Janamejaya. The Pañchaviniśa Brāhmaṇa, Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa and the Chhāndogya Upanishad mention a Kuru king named Abhipratārin Kākshaseni who was a contemporary of Girikshit Auchchamanyaya, Saunaka Kāpeya, and Dṛiti Aindrota. As Dṛiti Aindrota was the son and pupil of Indrota Daivāpa Saunaka the priest of Janamejaya,<sup>1</sup> Abhipratārin, son of Kakshasena, appears to have been one of the immediate successors of Janamejaya. We have already seen that Kakshasena appears in the Mahābhārata (I. 94. 54) as the name of a brother of Janamejaya. Abhipratārin was thus Janamejaya's nephew. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XV. 16. 10-13) refer to a prince named Vṛiddhadyumna Abhipratāriṇa, apparently the son of Abhipratārin. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>2</sup> mentions his son Rathagritsa and priest Śuchivriksha Gaupālāyana. The Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra informs us that Vṛiddhadyumna erred in a sacrifice, when a Brāhmaṇa threatened that the result would be the expulsion of the Kurus from Kurukshetra, an event which actually came to pass.

The Chhāndogya Upanishad refers to the devastation of the crops in the Kuru country by Maṭachi (hailstones or locusts) and the enforced departure of Ushasti Chākrāyana a contemporary of Janaka of Videha (Bṛihad Upanishad, III. 4).

<sup>1</sup> Vaśīśva Brāhmaṇa; Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 27, 273.

<sup>2</sup> Trivedi's translation, pp. 322-323.

The evidence of the Vedic texts and that of the Purāṇas can be reconciled if we assume that, after the death of Janamejaya, the Kuru kingdom was split up into two parts. One part, which had its capital at Hastinapura, was ruled by the direct descendants of Janamejaya himself. The other part was ruled by the descendants of his brother Kakshasena. The junior branch probably resided at Indraprastha or Indapatta which probably continued to be the seat of a race of kings belonging to the Yuddhitthila gotta (Yudhishtira gotra), long after the destruction of Hastinapura, and the removal of the main line of Kuru kings to Kauśambi.

All our authorities agree that during the rule of Janamejaya's successors great calamities befell the Kurus. Large sections of the people, including one of the reigning princes, were forced to leave the country, and to migrate to the eastern part of India. The transference of the royal seat of the Kuru or Bharata dynasty to Kauśambi is proved by the evidence of Bhāsa. Udayana, king of Kauśambi, is described in the Svapnavāsavadatta (ed. Ganapati Śāstri, p. 140) as a scion of the Bharata family :—

Bharataeñām kule jato vinito jūgnavāñchhuchiḥ  
Tannārhasi baladdhartum rājadharmaṣya desikāḥ

#### GENEALOGY OF THE PĀRIKSHITA FAMILY

Pārikshit				
Janamejaya	Kakshasena	Ugrasena	Śrutasona	Bhīmasena
Sātanika	Abhipratkrin			
Lāvamedhadatta	Vyāddhadayonna			
Aditismakṛishṇa	Rathagṛīsa			
Nichakshu				
Kings of Kauśambi Kings of Indapatta (?)				

## THE AGE OF THE GREAT JANAKA

We have seen that a series of calamities sadly crippled the Kurus; and the king of Hastinapura had to leave the country. During the age which followed the Kurus played a minor part in politics.

The most notable figure of the succeeding age was Janaka the famous king of Videha. The waning power of the Kurus and the waxing strength of the Vaidehas are shown by the fact that while Kuru princes are styled *rājā* in certain Brāhmaṇas (Ait. VIII. 14), Janaka of Videha is called *Samrāṭ*. In the *Sat. Br.* (V. 1. 1. 13) the *Samrāṭ* is asserted to be of higher dignity than a *rājan*.

That the great Janaka was later than the Pārikshitas admits of no doubt. We shall show later on that he was a contemporary probably of Nichakshu, and certainly of Ushasti Chakrayana during whose time disaster befell the Kurus. In Janaka's time we find the majesty and power, as well as the decline and fall, of the Pārikshitas still fresh in the memory of the people and discussed as a subject of general curiosity in the royal court of Mithila. In the Brihadācāryaka Upanishad Bhujyu Lāhyayani tests Yūjīvalkya, the ornament of the court of Janaka, with a question, the solution of which the former had previously obtained from Sudhanvā Āngirasa, a Gandharva, who held in his possession the daughter of Kāpya Patañchala of the Madra country :—

"Kva Pārikshitā abhavet?" (Brihad. Upanishad, III. 3. 1) "whither have the Pārikshitas gone?" Yūjīvalkya answers: "Thither where all Aśvamedha sacrificers go."

From this it is clear that the Pārikshitas (sons of Parikshit) must at that time have passed away. Yet their life and end must have been still fresh in the memory of

the people, and a subject of controversy in societies of philosophers.

It is not possible to determine with precision the exact chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka. Epic and Purāpic tradition seems to regard them as contemporaries. Thus the Mahābhārata says that Uddalaka (a prominent figure of Janaka's court) and his son Śvetaketu attended the Sarpa-satra of Janamejaya:—

Sadasya śchabbhavad Vyāsah putraśishya sahāyavān  
Uddalakah Pramatakah Śvetaketuscha Piṅgalah  
(MB., Adi., 53. 7).

The Vishṇupurāṇa says that Śatānika, the son and successor of Janamejaya, learned the Vedas from Yajñavalkya (Vishṇu, P. IV. 21. 2). The unreliability of the epic and Purāpic tradition in this respect is proved by the evidence of the Vedic texts. We learn from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 1) that Indrota Daivāpa or Daivapi Saunaka was a contemporary of Janamejaya. His pupil was Dṛiti Aindrota or Aindroti according to the Jaiminiya Upanishad and Vanīśa Brāhmaṇas. Dṛiti's pupil was Paulusha Prāchinayogya (Vedic Index, II, p. 9). The latter taught Paulushi Satyayajña. We learn from the Chhāndogya Upanishad (V. 11. 1-2) that Paulushi Satyayajña was a contemporary of Buḍila Āśvatarūṣi and of Uddalaka Āruṇi, two prominent figures of Janaka's Court (*vide* Brihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, V. 14. 8. "Janako Vaideho Buḍilam Āśvatarūṣim uvācha"; and III. 7. 1). Satyayajña was, therefore, certainly a contemporary of Janaka of Videha. He was an elder contemporary because his pupil Somaśuṣhma Śatyayajñi Prāchinayogya is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI. 6. 2. 1-3) as having met Janaka. As Śatyayajñi certainly flourished long after Indrota Daivāpi Saunaka, his contemporary

Janaka must be considerably later than Janamejaya the contemporary of Indrota.

We should also note that, in the lists of teachers given at the end of the tenth book of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and the sixth chapter of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad*, Tura Kāvasheya, the priest of Janamejaya, appears as a very ancient sage who was tenth in the ascending line from Śāṅjiviputra, whereas Yajñavalkya and Uddalaka Āruṇi, the contemporaries of Janaka, were only fourth and fifth in the ascending line from the same teacher. We quote the lists below:—

Janamejaya	Tura Kāvasheya
	Yajñavachas Rājastambayana
	Kuśri
	Śāṇdilya
	Vātsya
Vāmakakshayapa	Uddalaka Āruṇi } Janaka
Mahitthi	Yajñavalkya }
Kautsa	Āsuri
Māṇḍavya	Āsurāyana
Māṇḍukāyani	Prāśniputra Asurivāsin
Śāṅjiviputra	Śāṅjiviputra

It is clear from what has been stated above that Janaka was separated by five or six generations from Janamejaya's time. Prof. Rhys Davids in his Buddhist Suttas (Introduction, p. xlvii) adduces good grounds for assigning a period of about 150 years to the five Theras from Upāli to Mahinda. If the five Theras are assigned a period of 150 years, the five or six teachers from Indrota to Somaśūshma, and from Tura to Vāmakakshayapa the contemporary of Uddalaka Āruṇi and Janaka, must be assigned 150 or 180 years. It is, therefore, reasonable to think that Janaka flourished about 150 or 180 years after

Janamejaya, and two centuries after Parikshit. If, following the Purāṇas, we place Parikshit in the fourteenth century B.C., we must place Janaka in the twelfth century. If, on the other hand, accepting the synchronism of Guṇakhya Śāṅkhāyana with Āśvalāyana and Gotama Buddha, we place Parikshit in the ninth century B.C., then we must place Janaka in the seventh century B.C.

The kingdom of Videha, over which Janaka ruled, corresponds roughly to the modern Tirhut in Bihar. It was separated from Kosala by the river Sadānīrā, usually identified with the modern Gaṇḍak which, rising in Nepal, flows into the Ganges opposite Patna (Vedic Index, II. 299). Oldenberg, however, points out (Buddha, p. 398 n.) that the Mahābhārata distinguishes the Gaṇḍaki from the Sadānīrā, "Gaṇḍakīnchā Mahāśonam Sadānīrām tathaivacha." Pargiter, therefore, identifies the Sadānīrā with the Rāpti. We learn from the Suruchi Jātaka (490) that the measure of the whole kingdom of Videha was three hundred leagues. It consisted of 16,000 villages (J. 406).

Mithilā, the capital of Videha, is not referred to in the Vedic texts, but is constantly mentioned in the Jātakas and the epics. It has been identified with the small town of Janakpur just within the Nepal border. It is stated in the Suruchi and Gandhāra (406) Jātakas that the city covered seven leagues. At its four gates were four market towns (J. 546). We have the following description of Mithilā in the Mahājanaka Jātaka (Cowell's Jātaka, Vol. VI, p. 80):

By architects with rule and line laid out in order fair to see,  
With walls and gates and battlements, traversed by streets  
on every side,

With horses, cows and chariots thronged with tanks and  
 gardens beautified,  
 Vidha's far famed capital, gay with its knights and  
 warrior swarms,  
 Clad in their robes of tiger-skins, with banners spread  
 and flashing arms,  
 Its Brâhmaṇis dressed in Kâgi cloth, perfumed with  
 sandal, decked with gems,  
 Its palaces and all their queens with robes of state and diadems.

According to the Râmâyana (I.71.3) the royal family of Mithila was founded by a king named Nimi. His son was Mithi, and Mithi's son was Janaka I. The epic then continues the genealogy to Janaka II (father of Sita) and his brother Kuśadhvaja, king of Sankâśya. The Vâyu (88.7-8; 89.3-4) and the Vishnu (IV.5.1) Purânas represent Nimi or Nemi as a son of Ikshvâku, and give him the epithet Videha (Saśapena Vasishthasya Videhalu samapadyata—Vâyu P.). His son was Mithi whom both the Purânas identify with Janaka I. The genealogy is then continued to Siradhvaja who is called the father of Sita, and is, therefore, identical with Janaka II of the Râmâyana. Then starting from Siradhvaja the Purânas carry on the dynasty to its close. The last king is named Kriti, and the family is called Janakavâṁśa.

Dhṛītestu Vahulâśva bhud Vahulâśva sutaḥ Kṛitiḥ  
 Tasmin santishthate vamśo Janakâvâṁś mahâtmanâm  
 (Vâyu Purâna, 89.23.)

The Vedic texts know a king of Videha named Namî Sâpya (Vedic Index, I. 436). But he is nowhere represented as the founder of the dynasty of Mithila. On the contrary, a story of the Satapatha Brâhmaṇa seems to indicate that the Videha kingdom was founded by Videgha

Mathava who came from the banks of the Sarasvati.<sup>1</sup> We are told that Agni Vaisvānara went burning along this earth from the Sarasvati towards the east, followed by Māthava and his priest, Gotama Rahugāya, till he came to the river Sadānīrā which flows from the northern (Himalaya) mountain, and which he did not burn over. No Brāhmaṇas went across the stream in former times, thinking "it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaisvānara." At that time the land to the eastward was very uncultivated, and marshy,<sup>2</sup> but after Māthava's arrival many Brāhmaṇas were there, and it was highly cultivated, for the Brāhmaṇas had caused Agni to taste it through sacrifices. Māthava the Videgha then said to Agni, "where am I to abide?" "To the east of this river be thy abode," he replied. Even now, the writer of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa adds, this forms the boundary between the Kosalas and the Videhas. The name of Mithi Vaideha, the second king in the epic and the Purānic lists, is reminiscent of Māthava Videgha.

If Māthava Videgha was the founder of the royal line of Mithila, Nami Sāpya must be a later king of Videha. The Majjhima Nikāya (II.74-83) and the Nimi Jataka mention Makhadeva as the progenitor of the kings of Mithila, and Nimi is said to have been born to "round off" the royal house of Mithila, "the family of hermits." The combined evidence of Vedic and Buddhist texts thus shows that the name Nimi was borne not by the first, but probably by some later king or kings.

As the entire dynasty of Maithila kings was called Janaka vāṇī (Vamśo Janakānām mahātmanām), and

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell, Sans. Lit., pp. 214-215. Ved. Ind., II. 298; Sat. Br. I. 4. 1, etc.; Oldenberg's Buddha, pp. 298-299. Pargiter, J.A.S.B. 1897, p. 57 of seq.

<sup>2</sup> This is the territory which the Mahābhārata refers to as "Jalodahara," i.e., reclaimed from swamp (Mbh. II. 30. 4).

there were several kings bearing the name of Janaka, it is very difficult to identify any of these with the great Janaka of the Vedic texts. But there is one fact which seems to favour his identification with Śradhvaja of the Purāṇic list, i.e., the father of Sītā. The father of Sītā is, in the Rāmāyaṇa, a younger contemporary of Āśvapati king of the Kekayas (maternal grand-father of Bharata, Rāmāyaṇa, II. 9. 22). Janaka of the Vedic texts is also a contemporary of Āśvapati, prince of the Kekayas, as Uddalaka Āruni and Bodila Āśvatarāśvi frequented the courts of both these princes.<sup>1</sup> But as the name Āśvapati is also given to Bharata's maternal uncle (Rāmāyaṇa, VII. 118.4) it seems that it was possibly not a personal name but a family designation like 'Janaka.' In that case it is impossible to say how far the identification of the Vedic Janaka with the father of Sītā is correct.

It is equally difficult to identify our Janaka with any of the kings of that name mentioned in the Buddhist Jātakas. Prof. Rhys Davids (Bud. Ind., p. 26) seems to identify him with Mahā-Janaka of the Jātaka No. 559. The utterance of Mahā-Janaka II of that Jātaka :

‘Mithilā’s palaces may burn  
But naught of mine is burned thereby’

indeed reminds us of the great philosopher-king.

In the Mahābhārata (XII. 17. 18-19; 219. 50), too, we find the same saying attributed to Janaka of Mithila.

“Mithilāyām pradipitāyāḥ na me dabyati kiñchana”  
“Api cha bhavati Maithilena gītam  
Nagaramupahitam agnīntibhiyitkshya  
Na khalu mamshidahyate’tra kiñchit  
Svayam idamāha kila sma bhūmipalah.”

<sup>1</sup> Ved. Ind., II. 69; Chh. Up., V. 11. 1-4; Brh. Up. I. 1. 7

In the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana*, however, the saying is attributed to Nami (S. B. E. XLV. 37). This fact coupled with the mention of Nemi in juxtaposition with Arishṭa in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (IV. 5. 13) probably points to the identification of Nami or Nemi with Mahā-Janaka II who is represented in the *Jātaka* as the son of Arīṭha. If Mahā-Janaka II was identical with Nami, he cannot be identified with Janaka who is clearly distinguished from Nami in the Vedic texts. One may be tempted to identify the Vedic Janaka with Mahā-Janaka I of the *Jātaka*. But proof is lacking.

In the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* and in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* Janaka is called "Samrāṭ." This shows that he was a greater personage than a "Rājan." Although there is no clear evidence in the Vedic literature of the use of the word "Samrāj" as Emperor in the sense of king of kings, still the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* distinctly says that the Samrāj was a higher authority than a "Rājan"; "by offering the Rājasūya he becomes king, and by the *Vajapeya* he becomes Samrāj; and the office of king is the lower, and that of Samrāj the higher" (*Sat. Br.*, V. 1. 1. 13; XII. 8. 3. 4.; XIV. 1. 3. 8). In the Āśvalāyana Śrauta-Sūtra X. 3. 14 Janaka is mentioned as a great sacrificer.

But Janaka's fame rests not so much on his achievements as a king and a sacrificer, as on his patronage of culture and philosophy. The court of this monarch was thronged with Brāhmaṇas from Kosala and the Kuru-Pañchāla countries (e.g., Āśvala, Jaratkārava Ārtabhadra, Bhujyu Lāhyāyanī, Ushasta Chākravāya, Kahoja Kaushitakeya, Gārgī Vāchaknavī, Uddalaka Aruṇi and Vidagdha Śākalya). The tournaments of argument which were here held form a prominent feature in the third book of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*. The hero of these was Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā, who was a pupil of Uddalaka Aruṇi. (*Br. Up.* VI,

5, 3). Referring to Janaka's relations with the Kuru-Pañchala Brāhmaṇas Oldenberg says (Buddha, p. 398), "The king of the east, who has a leaning to the culture of the west, collects the celebrities of the west at his court—much as the intellects of Athens gathered at the court of Macedonian princes."

The Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads throw some light on the political condition of northern India during the age of Janaka. From those works we learn that, besides Videha, there were nine states of considerable importance, viz. :

1. Gandhāra
2. Kekaya
3. Madra
4. Uśinara
5. Matsya
6. Kuru
7. Pañchala
8. Kāsi
9. Kosala.

**Gandhara** formed a part of Uttarāpatha :—

Uttarāpathajanmānāḥ kīrtayishyāmi tan api  
Yauna Kāmboja Gāndhārāḥ Kirātā Barbaraiḥ saha.

(Mbh. XII. 207. 43.)

It included the Rāwalpindi district of the Pañjab and the Peshawar district of the N. W. Frontier Province. Thus it lay on both sides of the Indus.<sup>1</sup> We learn from the epic and Purāṇic literature that this *Janapada* contained two great cities, viz., Takshashilā and Pushkaravatī.

<sup>1</sup> Rāmāyaṇa VII, 113, 11; 114, 11; Śaṅkhorabhayaṭaḥ pāṭava.

Gandhāra vishaye siddhe, tayoh puryau mahātmanoḥ  
 Takshasya dikshu vikhyatā ramyā Takshaśilā purī  
 Pushkarasyāpi vrasya vikhyatā Puskaravati.

(Vāyu Purāṇa 88. 189-190; cf. Bṛāhmaṇa VII. 114. 11.)

If the Telapatta and Susima Jātakas (Nos. 96, 163) are to be believed Takshaśila lay 2,000 leagues away from Benares. The remains of the great city<sup>1</sup> are situated immediately to the east and north-east of Sarai-kala, a junction on the railway, twenty miles north-west of Rāwalpindi. The valley in which they lie is watered by the Haro river. Within this valley and within three and a half miles of each other are the remains of three distinct cities. The southernmost (and oldest) of these occupies an elevated plateau, known locally as Bhir-mound.<sup>2</sup>

Pushkaravati or Pushkalavati (Prakrit Pukkalāoti, whence the Peucelaotis of Arrian) is represented by the modern Prang and Chārsadda, 17 miles N. E. of Peshawar, on the Swāt river.<sup>3</sup>

Gandhāra is a later form of the name of the people called Gandhāri in the Rig Veda and the Atharva Veda. In the Rig Veda (I. 126. 7) the good wool of the sheep of the Gandhāris is referred to. In the Atharva Veda (V. 22. 14) the Gandhāris are mentioned with the Müjāvants, apparently as a despised people. In later times the 'angle of vision' of the men of the Madhyadeśa changed, and Gandhāra became the resort of scholars of all classes who flocked to its capital for instruction in the three Vedas and the eighteen branches of knowledge.

In a significant passage of the Chhāndogya Upanishad (VI. 14) Uddalaka Āruṇi, the contemporary of Janaka, mentions Gandhāra to illustrate the desirability of

<sup>1</sup> Marshall, A Guide to Taxila, pp. 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> Schott, The Peoples of the Erythrean Sea, pp. 188-189; Pococke, Gandhāra, p. 11.

having a duly qualified teacher from whom a pupil "learns (his way) and thus remains liberated (from all world ties) till he attains (the Truth, Moksha)." A man who attains Moksha is compared to a blind-folded person who reaches at last the country of Gandhāra. We quote the entire passage below :

"Yathā somya purusham Gandhārebhyo' bhinaddhāksham ānuya taṁ tato'tijane visrijet, sa yathā tatra prān vā udaū vādharān vā pratyān vā pradhmayita—abhinaddhāksha ānito' bhinaddhāksho visrishtāḥ. Tasya yathā bhinahanam pramuchya prabruyād etām diśam Gandhārā etām diśam vrajeti. Sa grāmād grāmarūpātīcchhan papdito medhāvī Gaudhārān evopasampadyeta, evam evehāchāryavān purusho veda."

"O my child, in the world when a man with blind-folded eyes is carried away from Gandhāra and left in a lonely place, he makes the east and the north and the south and the west resound by crying 'I have been brought here blind-folded, I am here left blind-folded.' Thereupon (some kind-hearted man) unties the fold on his eyes and says 'This is the way to Gandhāra; proceed thou by this way.' The sensible man proceeds from village to village, enquiring the way and reaches at last the (province) of Gandhāra. Even thus a man who has a duly qualified teacher learns (his way)."<sup>1</sup>

The full import of the illustration becomes apparent when we remember that the Uddalaka Jātaka (No. 487) represents Uddalaka as having journeyed to Takshashilā (Takkasilā) and learnt there of a world-renowned teacher. The Setaketu Jātaka (No. 377) says that Setaketu, son of Uddalaka, went to Takshashilā and learned all the arts. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions the fact that Uddalaka Aruṇi used to drive about (dhāvayām chakāra) amongst

<sup>1</sup> Dr. R. L. Mitra's translation of the Ghāndogya Upanishad, p. 114.

the people of the northern country (Sat. Br. XI. 4. 1. 1, *et seq.*). It is stated in the Kaushitaki Brahmana (VII. 6) that Brāhmaṇas used to go to the north for purposes of study. The Jātaka stories are full of references to the fame of Takshashīla as a university town. Pāṇini, himself a native of Gandhāra, refers to the city in sūtra IV. 3. 93. An early celebrity of Takshashīla was Kautilya.

The Kekayas were settled in the Pañjāb between Gandhāra and the Beas. From the Rāmāyaṇa (II. 68. 19-22; VII. 113-114) we learn that the Kekaya territory lay beyond the Vipāṭa and abutted on the Gandharva or Gandhāra Vishaya. The Vedic texts do not mention the name of its capital city, but the Rāmāyaṇa informs us that the metropolis was Rājagṛiha or Girivraja (identified by Cunningham with Girjāk or Jalalpur on the Jhelam).

"Ubhau Bharata Satrughnau Kekayeshu parantapan  
Pure Rājagṛihe ramye mātāmaha nivedane"  
(Rām., II. 67. 7.)

"Girivrajam puravaratā sigrām āsedur añjasa"  
(Rām., II. 68. 22.)

There was another Rājagṛiha-Girivraja in Magadha, while Hiuen Tsang mentions a third Rājagṛiha in Po-ho or Balkh (Beal—Si-ya-ki, Vol. I, p. 44). In order to distinguish between the Kekaya city and the Magadha capital, the latter city was called "Girivraja of the Magadhas" (S. B. E., XIII, p. 150).

The Purāṇas (Matsya, 48. 10-20, Vāyu 99. 12-23) tell us that the Usinaras, Kekayas and the Madrakas were septs of the family of Anu, son of Yayāti. The Anu tribe is frequently mentioned in the Rig Veda (I. 108. 8; VII. 18. 14; VIII. 10, 5). It appears from a hymn of the eighth Maṇḍala (74) that they dwelt in the central Pañjāb (not far from the Parushni), the same

territory which we find afterwards in the possession of the Madrakas and the Kekayas.

The king of Kekaya in the time of Janaka was Aśvapati, a name borne also by the maternal grandfather and the maternal uncle of Bharata (Rām. II. 9. 22; VII. 113. 4). The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (X. 6. 1. 2) and the Chhāndogya Upanishad (V. 11. 4 *et seq.*) say that king Aśvapati instructed a number of Brāhmaṇas, e.g., Aruna Aupavesi Gautama, Satyayajña Paulushi, Mahāśāla Jābala, Buḍila Āsvatarāśvi, Indra-dyumna Bhallaveya, Jena Śākarakshya, Prāchinasāla Aupamanyava, and Uddalaka Āruṇi.

The Jaina writers tell us that one-half of the kingdom of Kekaya was Aryan, and refer to the Kekaya city called "Seyaviyā" (Ind. Ant., 1891, p. 375). A branch of the Kekayas seems to have migrated to Southern India in later times and established its authority in the Mysore country (A.H.D. 88, 101).

The **Madra** people were divided into two sections, viz. the northern Madras and the southern Madras or Madras proper. The northern Madras, known as *Uttara-Madras*, are referred to in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, as living beyond the Himavat Range in the neighbourhood of the Uttara-Kurus, probably, as Zimmer and Macdonell conjecture, in the land of Kāśmir.

The southern Madras were settled in the central Panjab between the Kekayas and the river Irāvati (*cf.* Mōh. VIII. 44. 17). Their territory roughly corresponds to Siālkot and its adjacent districts which were known as the Madra-deśa as late as the time of Guru Govind.<sup>1</sup> The Madra capital was Śākala or Sāgalanagara (modern Siālkot). This city is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (II. 32. 14, "Tatah Śākalamabhyetya Madrāṇām putabhedanām") and

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm, Sketch of the Sikhs, p. 55.

several Jātakas (*e.g.*, Kālingabodhi Jātaka, No. 479; and Kusa Jātaka No. 631). The Madras proper are represented in those works as living under a monarchical constitution. The name of the ruler of the *Janapada* in the time of Janaka is not known. It was politically not of much importance. But it was the home of many famous teachers of the Brāhmaṇa period such as Madragāra Saṅgāyanī and Kāpya Patañchala,<sup>1</sup> one of the teachers of the celebrated Uddalaka Āruṇi (Brīhad. Up. III. 7. 1). The early epic knows the Madra royal house (*cf.* Asvapati and his daughter Sāvitri) as a virtuous family. But in later times Madra earned notoriety as the seat of outlandish peoples with wicked customs.<sup>2</sup>

The country of the **Usinaras** was situated in the Madhyadeśa. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 14) says "asyāṁ dhruvayāṁ madhyamāyāṁ pratishthāyāṁ disi" lie the realms of the Kuru Pañchālas together with Vāsas and Usinaras. In the Kaushitaki Upanishad also the Usinaras are associated with the Matsyas, the Kuru Pañchālas and the Vāsas. They probably lived in the northernmost part of the Madhyadeśa for in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa the Usinaras and Vāsas are mentioned just before the Udichyas or northerners (Gop. Br., II. 9) : Kuru Pañchāleshu Aṅga Magadheshu Kasi Kausalyeshu Śālva Matsyeshu sa Vāsa Usinaresh- Udichyeshu.

In the Kathāsaritsāgara<sup>3</sup> Usinaraṇgiri is placed near Kanakhala the "sanctifying place of pilgrimage, at the point where the Ganges issues from the hills." It is, doubtless, identical with Usiragiri of the Divyāvadāna (p. 22) and Usiradvaja of the Vinaya Texts (Part II,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 25, note ; Weber, Ind. Lit., p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> For detailed accounts of the Madras see now H. C. Ray in JASL 1922, 257; and Ray, Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India, p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Pandit Durgaprasād and Kāshīmītṛ Pāndarang Pārkh, third edition, p. 5.

p. 39).<sup>1</sup> Pāṇini refers to the Uśinara country in the sūtras II. 4. 20 and IV. 2. 118. In sūtra II. 4. 20 Uśinara is mentioned in juxtaposition with Kantha (Kathai? ?). Its capital was Bhojanagara (Mbh. V. 118. 2).

The Rig Veda (X. 59. 10) mentions a queen named Uśinarāṇī. The Mahābhārata, the Anukramaṇī and several Jātakas mention a king named Uśinara and his son Śibi.<sup>2</sup> We do not know the name of Janaka's Uśinara contemporary. The Kaushitaki Upanishad tells us that Gārgya Balaki, a contemporary of Ajātaśatru of Kasi, and of Janaka, lived for some time in the Uśinara country.

Matsya, says Prof. Bhandarkar (Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 53), originally included parts of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur, and was the kingdom of the king Virāṭa of the Mahābhārata, in whose court the five Pāṇḍava brothers resided incognito during the last year of their banishment. But Alwar seems to have been the territory of a neighbouring people—the Sālvas.<sup>3</sup> The Matsya capital has been identified with Bairat in the Jaipur State. Pargiter thinks that the capital was Upaplavya. But according to Nilakantha Upaplavya (Mbh. IV. 72. 14) was "Virāṭanagara samipastha nagarāntaram."

The Matsyas first appear in a passage of the Rig Veda (VII. 18. 6), where they are ranged with the other enemies of the great Rig Vedic conqueror Sudas. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 9) mentions a Matsya king named Dhvasan Dvaitavana who celebrated the horse sacrifice near the Sarasvatī. The Brāhmaṇa quotes the following gāthā :—

"Fourteen steeds did king Dvaitavana, victorious in battle, bind for Indra Vṛitrahan, whence the lake Dvaitavana (took its name)."

<sup>1</sup> See Hultzsch, Ind. Ant., 1905, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> Mbh. XII. 29. 89; Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 103; Maha-Kagha Jātaka, No. 469; Nimi Jātaka, No. 541; Maha-Nikada Kassapa Jātaka, No. 544, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ind. Ant., 1919. N. L. Dey's Geographical Dictionary, p. ii.

The *Mahābhārata* mentions the lake Dvaitavāna as well as a forest called Dvaitavāna which spread over the banks of the river Sarasvatī (Mbh. III. 24-25).

In the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (1. 2. 9) the Matsyas appear in connexion with the Salyas, in the Kaushitaki Upanishad (IV. 1) in connexion with the Kuru Pañchālas, and in the *Mahābhārata* in connexion with the Trigarttas (Mbh. bk. IV) of the Jālandar Doṣas, and the Chedis (V. 74. 16). In the *Manu-Saṁhitā* the Matsyas together with the Kurukshetra, the Pañchalas, and the Śurasenakas comprise the land of the Brāhmaṇa Rishis (Brahmarshi-desa).

The name of Janaka's contemporary ruler is not known. That the country of the Matsyas was an important place in the time of Ajitaśatru of Kāsi, and of Janaka, is known from the Kaushitaki Upanishad.

The **Kuru** country fully maintained its reputation as the centre of Brāhmaṇical culture in the age of Janaka. Kuru Brāhmaṇas (*e.g.*, Ushasti Chakrāyaṇa) played a prominent part in the philosophical discussions of Janaka's court. But it was precisely at this time that a great calamity befell the Kurus, and led to an exodus of large sections of the Kuru people including Ushasti himself. The Chhāndogya-Upanishad (1. 10. 1) says " Matachi-hateshu Kurushu ātikyā saha jāyayā Ushastir ha Chākrāyaṇa ibhya-grame pradrāṇaka uvāsa." One commentator took Matachi to mean rakta-varṇā kshudra-pakshi viśeshāḥ. Professor Bhandarkar says that the explanation of this commentator is confirmed by the fact that Matachl is a Sanskritised form of the well-known Canarese word " midiche " which is explained by Kittel's Dictionary as " a grasshopper, a locust."

If the Purāṇic list of Janamejaya's successors be accepted as historical then it would appear that Nichakshu was probably the Kuru king in the time of Janaka,

1. Janamejaya	...	1. Indrota	Daivāpa Śaunaka
2. Śatānika	...	2. Dr̥iti	Aindrota (son and pupil)
3. Aśvamedhadatta	...	3. Pulusha	Prāchinayo- gys (pupil)
4. Adhisimakṛishṇa	...	4. Paulushi	Satyayajñī (pupil)
5. Nichakshu	...	5. Somaśuṣhma	Saty- yajñī (pupil); Jana- ka's contemporary.

Curiously enough it is Nichakshu who is represented in the Purāṇas as the remover of the seat of government from Hastinapura to Kauśambi. We have some indication that the city of Kauśambi really existed about this time (*cf.* Weber, Ind. Lit., p. 123). The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa makes Proti Kauśambaya a contemporary of Uddālaka Āruṇi who figured in the court of Janaka. It is thus clear that Kauśambaya was a contemporary of Janaka. Now, Harisvāmin in his commentary on the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa understood Kauśambaya to mean a 'native of the town of Kauśambi.' It is, therefore, permissible to think that Kauśambi existed in the time of Janaka, and hence of Nichakshu. There is thus no difficulty in the way of accepting the Purāṇic statement. According to the Purāṇas the change of capital was due to the inroad of the river Ganges. Another, and a more potent, cause was perhaps the devastation of the Kuru country by Maṭachi. From this time the Kurus appear to have lost their political importance. They sank to the level of a second-rate power. But the Bharata dynasty, as distinguished from the Kuru people, exercised wide sway down to the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 11).

**Panchāla** roughly corresponds to Bareilly, Budaun, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the United Provinces. There is no trace in the Vedic literature of the epic and Jātaka division of the Pañchālas into northern (Uttara) and southern (Dakshina). But the Vedic texts knew a division into eastern and western, because the Saṃhitopanishad Brāhmaṇa makes mention of the Prāchya Pañchālas (Ved. Ind., I. 469).<sup>1</sup> The most ancient capital of Pañchāla was Kāmpilya which has been identified with Kampil on the old Ganges between Budaun and Farrukhabad. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 7) mentions another Pañchāla town Parivakrā or Parichakrā identified by Weber with Ekachakrā of the Mahābhārata (Ved. Ind., I. 494).

The Pañchālas, as their name indicates, probably consisted of five tribes—the Krivis, Turvaśas, Kesins, Śrīṇjayas and Somakas. The Krivis appear in a Rig-Vedic hymn which also mentions the Sindhu (Indus) and the Asikni (Chenāb). But their actual habitation is nowhere clearly indicated. They are identified with the Pañchālas in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Oldenberg observes (Buddha, p. 404): "We are to look to find in the people of the Pañchālas, of the stock of the Rik Saṃhitā, the Turvaśas also as well as the Krivis." He supports the conjecture by quoting a passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 16) which says "when Śatrūṣha (king of the Pañchālas) makes the Aśvamedha offering the Taurvaśas arise, six thousand and six and thirty clad in mail."

The fusion of the Turvaśas with the Pañchālas does not seem to be improbable in view of the Purānic statement that, after Marutta, the line of Turvaśu was merged into the Paurava line (A.I.H.T., p. 108), of which the Pañchālas are represented as an off-shoot.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Patishṭhāni (Kielhorn's ed., Vol. I, p. 13).

The Pañchālas also included the Kesiṇs (Ved. Ind., I. 187) and probably the Śrīñjayas (Pargiter, Mārkandeya Pūrāṇa, p. 353; Mbh. I. 138. 37; V. 48. 41). In Mbh. VIII. 11. 31 Uttamaujas is called a Pañchāla, while in VIII. 75. 9 he is called a Śrīñjaya. As to the Somakas their connection with the Pañchālas is known throughout the Great Epic (*cf.* Mbh. I. 185. 31; 193, 1. Dhṛishṭādyumnaḥ Somakānām Pravarhe).

In the Mahābhārata the royal family of the Pañchālas is represented as an offshoot of the Bharata dynasty (Ādi. 94. 33). The Purāṇas say the same thing (Matsya 50. 1-16; Vāyu, 99. 194-210) and name Divodāsa, Sudāsa and Drupada among the kings of the Pañchāla branch. Divodāsa and Sudāsa are famous kings in the Rig Veda where they are closely connected with the Bharatas (Ved. Ind. I, p. 363; II, pp. 95, 454). But they are not mentioned as Pañchāla kings. In the Mahābhārata Drupada is also called Yajūnasena and one of his sons was named Śikhandin (Mbh. Ādi. 166. 24; Bhīṣma, 190, *et seq.*). A Śikhandin Yajūnasena is mentioned in the Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇa (VII. 4) but it is not clear whether we are to regard him as a prince, or as a priest of Kesiṇ Dālbhya, king of the Pañchālas.

The external history of the Pañchālas is mainly that of wars and alliances with the Kurus. The Mahābhārata preserves traditions of conflict between the Kurus and the Pañchālas. We learn from chapter 166 of the Ādiparva that Uttara Pañchāla was wrested from the Pañchālas by the Kurus and given away to their preceptor. Curiously enough the Somanassa Jātaka (No. 505) places Uttara Pañchālanagara in Kururattha.

The relations between the two peoples (Kurus and Pañchālas) were sometimes friendly and they were connected by matrimonial alliances. Kesiṇ Dālbhya or Dārbhya, a king of the Pañchālas, was sister's son to

Uehehaiśravas, king of the Kurus (Ved. Ind., I. 84. 187. 468). Uehehaiśravas occurs as the name of a Kuru prince in the dynastic list of the Mahābhārata (I. 94. 53). In the epic a Pañchāla princess is married to the Pāṇḍavas who are represented as scions of the Kuru royal family.

Among the most famous kings of the Pañchālas mentioned in the Vedic literature are Kraivya, Keśin Dalbhyā, Sona Sātrāśha, Pravāhaṇa Jaivali and Durmukha. Durmukha is also mentioned in the Kumbhakāra Jātaka (No. 408). His kingdom is called Uttara Pañchālarat̄ṭha and his capital Kampillanagara. He is represented as a contemporary of Nimi, king of Videha. If this Nimi be the penultimate king of Janaka's family mentioned in the Nimi Jātaka (No. 541) Durmukha must be later than Janaka.

Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, on the other hand, was Janaka's contemporary. This prince appears in the Upanishads as engaged in philosophical discussions with Āruṇi, Svetaketu, Śilaka Śālavatya, and Chaikitayana Dālīhya (Bṛihad. Up., VI. 2; Chh. Up., I. 8. 1; V. 8. 1). The first two teachers are known to have been contemporaries of Janaka.

The kingdom of Kāsi was 300 leagues in extent (a stock phrase, Jātaka No. 391). It had its capital at Bāriṇāsi also called Surundhana, Sudassana, Brahma-vaddhana, Pupphavati, Ramma city, and Molini (Carmichael Lectures, 1918, pp. 50-51). The walls of Bāriṇāsi were twelve leagues round by themselves (Taṇḍulanāli Jātaka).

The Kāsīs, i.e., the people of Kāsi, first appear in the Paippalāda recension of the Atharva Veda (Ved. Ind., II. 116 n.). They were closely connected with the people of Kosala and of Videha. Jala Jātūkarnya is mentioned in the Śankhayana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI. 29. 5) as having obtained the position of Purohita of the three peoples of Kāsi, Videha and Kosala in the life-time of Svetaketu, a contemporary of Janaka. Curiously enough a king named

Janaka is mentioned in the Sattubhasta Jātaka (No. 402) as reigning in Benares. This Janaka cannot be the Janaka of the Upanishads, for we learn from those works that, in the time of the famous Janaka, Ajātaśatru was on the throne of Kāsi.

Very little is known regarding the ancestors of Ajātaśatru. His name does not occur in the Purānic lists of Kāsi sovereigns (Vāyu 92, 21-74; Visnu IV, 8, 2-9), nor does the name of Dhṛitarāshṭra, king of Kāsi, who was defeated by Śatānīka Satrājita with the result that the Kāsīs down to the time of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa gave up the kindling of the sacred fire. The Purānas represent the Kāsi family as a branch of the house of Purūrvas, the great ancestor of the Bharatas. Of the kings mentioned in the Purānas the names of two only (Divodāsa and Pratardana) can be traced in the Vedic literature. But the Vedic texts do not connect them with Kāsi.

In the Mahāgovinda Suttanta Dhatarattha, king of Kāsi, who must be identified with Dhṛitarashṭra, king of Kāsi mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, is represented as a Bharata prince (Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, p. 270).

The Bharata dynasty of Kāsi seems to have been supplanted by a new line of kings who had the family name Brahmadatta, and were probably of Videhan origin. That Brahmadatta was the name of a family, and not of any particular king, has been proved by Prof. Bhandarkar and Mr. Hāritkṛṣṇa Dev (Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 56). The Matsya Purāṇa refers to a dynasty consisting of one hundred Brahmadattas:

Śatān̄ vai Brahmadattānām  
Virāṇām Kuravāḥ satam

(Matsya, p. 278, 71.)

The "hundred Brahmadattas" are also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, II. 8. 23,

In the *Dummedha Jātaka* (Vol. I, p. 126) the name Brahmadatta is applied both to the reigning king and to his son. (*Cf.* also the *Susima Jātaka*, the *Kummā Sapinda Jātaka*, the *Atthāna Jātaka*, the *Lomasa Kassapa Jātaka*, etc.) In the *Gangamāla J.* (421) it is distinctly stated that Brahmadatta was a family designation. King Udaya of Benares was addressed by a Pachcheka Buddha as "Brahmadatta."

That the Brahmadattas were of Videhan origin appears probable from several *Jātakas*. For instance, the *Mati-posaka Jātaka* (No. 455), which refers to king Brahmadatta of Kasi, has the following line :

mutto'mhi Kāsirājena Vedehena yasassini ti.

In the *Sambula Jātaka* (No. 519) prince Sotthisena, son of Brahmadatta, king of Kasi, is called Vedehaputta:

Yo putto Kāsirājassa Sotthiseno ti tam vidū<sup>1</sup>  
tassāham Sambulā bhariyā, evam jānāhi dānava,  
Vedehaputto bhaddan te vane basati āturo.

Ajatasatru, the Kāsya contemporary of Janaka, seems to have belonged to the Brahmadatta family. The Upanishadic evidence shows that he was a contemporary of Uddalaka. The *Uddālska Jātaka* tells us that the reigning king of Benares in the time of Uddalaka was Brahmadatta.

Ajatasatru appears in the Upanishads as engaged in philosophical discussions with Gārgya Balaki. In the *Kaushitaki Upanishad* he is represented as being jealous of Janaka's fame as a patron of learning.

The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (V. 5. 5. 14) mentions a person named Bhadraseru Ajatasatruva who is said to

have been bewitched by Uddalaka Āruṇi. Macdonell and Keith call him a king of Kāśī. He was apparently the son and successor of Ajatasatru (S.B.E., XLI, p. 41).

The kingdom of **Kosala** corresponds roughly to the modern Oudh. It was separated from Videha by the river Sadāvīra, which was for a long time the easternmost limit of the Aryan world. Beyond it was an extensive marshy region, not frequented by Brāhmaṇas which, after Mathava Videgha's occupation, developed into the flourishing kingdom of Videha.

The Vedic texts do not mention any city in Kosala. But if the Rāmāyaṇa is to be believed the capital of Kosala in the time of the Janakas was Ayodhyā which stood on the banks of the Sarayū and covered twelve yojanas (Rām. I. 55-7). The river Sarayū is mentioned in the Rigveda which also refers to an Aryan settlement on its banks (IV. 30. 18). One of the Ārya settlers bears the name of Chitraratha which occurs also in the Rāmāyaṇa (II. 32. 17) as the appellation of a contemporary of Daśaratha. A king named Daśaratha is eulogised in a Rig Vedic hymn (I. 126. 4) but there is nothing to identify him with the Ikshvāku king Daśaratha who is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as the Kosalan contemporary of Siradvaya Janaka. Daśaratha's son according to the Rāmāyaṇa was Rāma. The Rig Veda (X. 93. 14) mentions a powerful person named Rāma but does not connect him with Kosala. The Dasaratha Jātaka makes Dasaratha and Rāma kings of Barāpasi, and disavows Sītā's connection with Janaka.

Kosala was probably the fatherland of Janaka's Hotri priest Aśvala who was very probably an ancestor of Aśvalayana Kausalya mentioned in the Praśna Upanishad as a disciple of Pippalāda and a contemporary of Sukeśa Bhāradvāja and of Hiraṇyanābha, a Kosalan princee.

The details of Kosalan history will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

SYNCHRONOTIC TABLE.

Rudras	Vishvadatta (Rig. V.)	Vishvadatta (Rig. V.)	Sākṛubh
Sathans (Rig. V., and Mbh.)	Satnamadou (propil.)	Pariśāra	Pihikrona (popil.)
Vishvams (Kap. on Rishiśā).	Vyasa	Vyasa	Vyšin Purātārye "
Vīṣṭa	"	"	(Shmavardhakas Aśvamedha)
Papūja	Vīkramas	"	Aśvamedha (Rig. V.)
Ariṣṇa	Uddalak	"	Pashūn (popil.).
Aḥkamanyu	Rāmatya	"	Vātānugādī "
	Bṛhadīśva	"	Vātānugādī "
	Pradyotṣa	"	Vidarbhi "
Tānakayya	Kakshayam.	Indrode	Kānūḍīya "
Sāntis	Abhipraśārin	Dṛḍi Aśvamedha	Gāvya "
Aśvamedha-	Vṝddha-	Pāñśra (propil.)	Kerisena "
date	Upamna	Priyavratī	Hāśa "
Aśvadha-	Pazushi	"	Kālīcitra "
Kṛṣṇa	Ittingīśas.	Uddalak	Sāgopya "
	Sūndarīśas	"	Vātāya "
Sūndarī (pure)	Kahola	"	(Birthd up.)
			Vāsudākshayana "
Aśvadha :	Kāranti-Kākyāya	Siddhavaya	Mātihati "
(= Aśvayama, contemp. of Buddha 1),	Pāñkakasati	"	Kovisa "
	(= Pohkhar-	Aśvayana "	Mātihati "
	sati ?)	(Sākṛubh. Ar.)	Pāñkīpura "
			Mātihati-Syani "
			Bāñjīr-purā "
			(Brīhad up.)

INDIA IN THE AGE OF JANAKA.



Specially prepared for Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India.

## THE LATER VAIDEHAS OF MITHILĀ.

The Purāṇas give the following lists of the successors of Siradhvaja Janaka :—

*Vāyu* (89. 18-23)

Siradhvajattu jātastu  
Bhānumān nāma Maithilāḥ  
Tasya Bhānumataḥ putraḥ  
Pradyumnaścha pratāpavān  
Muniṣasya suta śchāpi  
Tasmād Urjavahāḥ smṛitaḥ  
Urjavahāt suta Dvājab  
Śakuni stasya chātmajah

*Vishṇu* (IV. 5. 12-13)

Siradhvajasy āpatyaḥ Bhā-  
numān Bhānumataḥ Sata-  
dyumnaḥ, tasya Śuehiḥ tas-  
mād Urjavahonāma putro  
jaīne—tasyāpi Satvara-  
dhvajab, tataḥ Kuniḥ, Ku-  
ner Añjanāḥ

Svāgataḥ Śakunehputraḥ  
Suvarchā stat sutaḥ smṛitaḥ  
Śrutoyastasya dāyādaḥ  
Suśruta stasya chātmajah  
Suśrutasya Jayah putro  
Jayasya Vijayaḥ sutaḥ  
Vijayasya Ritaḥ putra  
Ritasya Sunayah smṛitaḥ  
Sunayād Vitahavyastu  
Vitahavyātmajo Dhritiḥ  
Dhritestu Bahulaśvo'bhuḍ  
Bahulaśva sutaḥ Kṛitiḥ

tatputraḥ Ritujit, tato' rish-  
ṭa-Nemih, tasmāt Śrutayuh,  
tataḥ Sūryāsvah, tasmād  
Sañjayah, tataḥ Kshemāriḥ,  
tasmād Anenāḥ, tasmān  
Minarathah, tasya Satya-  
rathah, tasya Sātyara-  
thiḥ, Satyarather Upaguh,  
tasmāt Upaguptah, tasmāt  
Śāsvataḥ, tasmāt Sudhanvā  
(Suvarchāḥ) tasyāpi Subha-  
sah, tataḥ Suśruthaḥ tasmāj-  
Jayah, Jayaputro Vijayah,  
tasya Ritaḥ Ritāt Sunayah  
tato Vitahavyah Tasmād  
Sañjayah

tasmād Kshemāsvah, tasmāt  
Dhritiḥ, Dhritēr Bahulaś-  
yah, tasya putraḥ, Kṛitiḥ,  
Kritau santishthate 'yam

Tasmin santishṭhate vāṁśo  
Janakānām mabātmanām Janaka vāṁśab.

It will be seen that the two Purānic lists do not wholly agree with each other. The Vāyu Purāṇa omits many names including those of Arishṭa Nemi and his immediate successors. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa, or the scribe who wrote the dynastic list contained in it, may have confounded the names Arishṭa and Nemi and made one out of two kings. Arishṭa is very probably identical with Aritṭha Janaka of the Māhā-Janaka Jātaka. Nemi is very probably the same as Nami of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra to whom is ascribed the same saying ("when Mithila is on fire, nothing is burned that belongs to me") which is attributed to Maha-Janaka II, son of Aritṭha, in the Māhā-Janaka Jātaka.

With the exception of Arishṭa (and?) Nemi none of the kings in the Purānic lists can be satisfactorily identified with the Videhan monarchs mentioned in the Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina literature. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far the Purānic lists are reliable. Moreover, as the identification of Śradhvaja with the Vedic Janaka is by no means certain, it is not easy to determine which of the kings mentioned in the Purānic lists actually came after the contemporary of Āruṇi and Yajñavalkya. The evidence of the Jātakas, however, suggests that a king named Nimi, at any rate, ruled after the great Janaka, as he is called the penultimate sovereign of the dynasty. Pargiter (AIHT, p. 149) places all the kings of the Purānic lists from Bhānumant to Bahulaśva before the Bhārata war, and apparently identifies Kṛiti with Kṛitakṣhaṇa of the Mahābhārata (II. 4. 27), a contemporary of Yudhiṣṭhīra. But as there were "Janakas" even after Yudhiṣṭhīra (AIHT, p. 330) and as "two Purāṇas conclude with the remark that with Kṛiti ends the race of the Janakas" (*ibid.*, p. 96), the identification of Kṛiti with Kṛitakṣhaṇa does not seem to be plausible. It is

more reasonable to identify Kṛiti of the Purāṇas with Karāla Janaka who, as we shall see below, brought the line of Vaideha kings to an end. The only objection to this view is that Karāla is represented as the son of Nimi, whereas Kṛiti was the son of Bahulāśva who came long after Arishta-Nemi. But the title Nimi may have been borne by several kings besides Arishta (or his son ?) and Bahulāśva may have been one of them.

The Vedic texts mention besides Maithava and Janaka two other Vaideha kings, namely, Para Āhlāra and Nami Sāpya. Macdonell and Keith identify Para Āhlāra with Para Āṭgāra, king of Kosala, about whom we shall speak in a subsequent chapter. Nami Sāpya is mentioned in the Pañchavimśa or Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa (XXV. 10. 17-18) as a famous sacrificer. His identification with king Nami of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, Nemi of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, and Nimi of the Makhādeva Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, the Kumbhakāra Jātaka and the Nimi Jātaka is more or less problematical. In the last mentioned work it is stated that Nimi was the penultimate sovereign of the Maithila family. According to the Kumbhakāra Jātaka and the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra (S. B. E., XLV. 87) he was a contemporary of Durmukha (Dvīmukha) king of Pañchāla, Naggaṇī (Naggati) of Gandhāra, and of Karanḍu (Karakandu) of Kalinga. This synchronism accords with Vedic evidence. Durmukha the Pañchāla king had a priest named Brīhaduktha (Vedic Index, I. 370) who was the son of Vāmadeva (*ibid.*, II. 71). Vāmadeva was a contemporary of Somaka the son of Sahadeva (Rig Veda, IV. 15. 7. 10). Somaka had close spiritual relationship with Bhīma king of Vidarbha and Nagnajit king of Gandhāra (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 34). From this it seems very probable that Durmukha was a contemporary of Nagnajit. This is exactly what we find in the Kumbhakāra Jātaka and the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra.

The Nimi Jataka says that Nimi was "born to round off" the royal family "like the hoop of a chariot wheel." Addressing his predecessor the sooth-sayers said, "great king, this prince is born to round off your family. This your family of hermits will go no further."

Nimi's son Kaśāra Janaka<sup>1</sup> is said to have actually brought his line to an end. This king is apparently identical with Karāla Janaka of the Mahābhārata (XII. 302. 7). In the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya it is stated that "Bhoja, known also by the name Dāṇḍakya, making a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa maiden, perished along with his kingdom and relations; so also Karāla, the Vaideha."<sup>2</sup> Karāla, the Vaideha, who perished along with his kingdom and relations, must be identified with Kaśāra (Karāla) who according to the Nimi Jataka brought the line of Vaideha kings to an end. The downfall of the Vaidehas reminds us of the fate of the Tarquins who were expelled from Rome for a similar crime. As in Rome, so in Videha, the overthrow of the monarchy was followed by the rise of a republic—the Vajjian Confederacy.

There is reason to believe that the Kāśi people had a share in the overthrow of the Vaideha monarchy. Already in the time of the great Janaka, Ajātaśatru king of Kāśi could hardly conceal his jealousy of the Videhan king's fame. The passage "Yathā Kāśyo vā Vaideha vograputra ujjyam dhanu radhijyam kṛtvā dvau vāna vantau sapatnātivyādhinā baste kṛtvopotishthed" (Bṛihad. Upanishad, III. 8. 2.) probably refers to frequent struggles between the kings of Kāśi and Videha. The Mahābhārata (XII. 99. 1-2) refers to the old story

<sup>1</sup> Makhadeva Butts of the Majjhima nikkyo, II. 82; Nimi Jataka.

<sup>2</sup> The evidence of the Arthaśāstra is confirmed by that of the Buddhacharita of Aśvaghoṣa (IV. 80). "And so Karāla Janaka, when he carried off the Brāhmaṇa's daughter, incurred loss of caste thereby, but he would not give up this love."

(*itihasam puratanam*) of a great battle between Pratardana (king of Kāsi according to the Rāmāyaṇa, VII. 48. 15) and Janaka king of Mithilā. It is stated in the Pali commentary *Paramatthajotikā* (Vol. I, pp. 158-165) that the Lichchhavis, who succeeded Janaka's dynasty as the strongest political power in Videha, and formed the most important element of the Vajjian Confederacy, were the offsprings of a queen of Kāsi. This probably indicates that a junior branch of the royal family of Kāsi established itself in Videha.

#### THE DECCAN IN THE AGE OF THE LATER VAIDEHAS.

The expression "Dakshināpadā" occurs in the Rig Veda (X. 61. 8) and refers to the place where the exile goes on being expelled. In the opinion of several scholars this simply means "the South" beyond the limits of the recognised Aryan world. Dakshinātya is found in Pāṇini, (IV. 2. 98). Dakshināpatha is mentioned by Baudhāyana coupled with Surāshṭra (Bau. Sūtra I. 1. 29). It is however extremely difficult to say what Pāṇini or Baudhāyana exactly meant by Dakshinātya or Dakshināpatha.

Whatever may have been the correct meaning of those terms it is certain that already in the age of the later Vaidehas the Aryans had crossed the Vindhya range and even established several states in the Deccan. One of these states was *Vidarbha* or Berar. Vidarbha was certainly a famous kingdom in the time of Nimi mentioned in the Jātakas. We have already seen that the Kumbhakāra Jātaka and the Uttarādhyayana make him a contemporary of Naggaji, Naggati or Nagnajit king of Gandhara. We learn from the Aitareya Brahmana (VII. 34) that Nagnajit was a contemporary of Bhīma king of Vidarbha.

"Etamu haiva prochatuh Parvata Nāradau Somakāya  
Sahadevyāya Sahadevāya Sārūjayāya Babhrave Daivā-  
vṛīdhāya Bhīmāya Vaidarbhyā Nagnajite Gāndhārāya."

Vidarbha therefore existed as an independent kingdom in the time of Nimi. The kingdom is mentioned in the *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* (II. 440; *Ved. Ind.* II. 297). It was famous for its Māchalas (perhaps a species of dog) which killed tigers (*JAOS*, 19, 190 *Vidarbheśu mācalāś Sārameyā apiha Čārdulikā mārayanti*). The *Paṛṣṇa Upanishad* mentions a sage of Vidarbha named Bhārgava as a contemporary of Āśvalayana. Another sage called Vidarbhi Kaundinya is mentioned in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*. The name Kaundinya is apparently derived from the city of Kundina, the capital of Vidarbha (*Mbh.* III. 73. 1-2; *Harivamśa*, *Vishṇuparva*, 59.60), represented by the modern Kaundinya-pura on the banks of the Wardhā in the Chāḍur taluk of Amraoti (Gaz. Amraoti, Vol. A, p. 406).

From the Purāṇic account of the Yadu family it appears that Vidarbha, the eponymous hero of the Vidarbhas, was of Yadu lineage (*Matsya Purāṇa*, 44. 36; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 95. 35-36).

If the evidence of the Kumbhakāra Jātaka has any value, then Nimi king of Videha (mentioned in the work), Nagnajit king of Gandhāra and Bhīma king of Vidarbha must be considered to be contemporaries of Karanju of Kalinga. It follows from this that the kingdom of Kalinga was in existence in the time of Nimi and his contemporaries of the Brāhmaṇa period. The evidence of the Jātaka is confirmed by that of the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*. The *Mahāgovinda Suttanta* (Dialogues of the Buddha, II. 270) makes Sattabhu king of Kalinga a contemporary of Repu king of Mithilā and of Dhātaratṭha or Dhātarāśbīṭha king of Kāsi (mentioned in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. 5. 4. 22). There can thus be no doubt that Kalinga existed as an independent kingdom in the time of which the Brāhmaṇas speak. It is mentioned both by Pāṇini (IV. 1. 170) and Baudhāyana

(I. i. 30-31). The latter regards it as an impure country but evidently not unfrequented by Aryans. It comprised the whole coast from the river Vaitarāṇī (Mbh. III. 114. 4) in Orissa to the borders of the Andhra territory. We learn from the Jātakas that the capital of Kalinga was Dantapurānagara<sup>1</sup> (Dantakura, Mbh. V. 48. 76). The Mahābhārata mentions another capital called Rājapura (XII. 4. 3). The Mahāvastu (Senart's edition, p. 432) refers to another city named Siṁhapura. The Jaina writers mention a fourth city called Karṇohāṣapura (Ind. Ant., 1891, p. 375).

The Mahāgovinda Suttanta refers to another southern realm, namely, Assaka (on the Godbāvari, Sutta Nipata 977) which existed in the time of Reṇu and Dhatarattha (Dhṛitarāshṭra). It was ruled by king Brahmadatta who had his capital at Potana.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers (VIII. 14) to princes of the south who are called **Bhojas** and whose subjects are called the Satvats, "dakṣiṇasyāḥ disi ye ke cha Satvatām rajāno Bhaujyāyaivate' bhishichyante Bhojetyanān-abhishiktān-echakshata." In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 21) the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats, and his taking away the horse which they had prepared for an Aśvamedha are referred to. These Satvats must have been living near Bharata's realm, i. e., near the Ganges and the Yamuna (*cf.* Sat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 11). But in the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa they probably moved further to the south. Their kings were called Bhojas. This account of the Satvats and the Bhojas, deduced from the Brāhmaṇical statements, accords strik-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ep. 190, XIV, p. 261, Dantapurāvāsikā. The name of the city probably survives in that of the fort of Dantavakira near Chiecole in the Ganjam District. Many other Kalinga capitals stood in the same district, e. g., Kalīganagara (Mukhāligam on the Yashodhara, Ep. Ind., IV. 187), Siṁhpura (Singapuram near Chiecole, Dubressi, A. H. D., p. 94), etc.

ingly with Purānic evidence. It is stated in the Purāṇas that the Sātvatas and the Bhojas were offshoots of the Yādu family which dwelt at Mathurā on the banks of the Yamunā (Matsya, 43. 48; 44. 46-48; Vāyu, 94. 52; 95. 18; 96. 1-2; Vishṇu, IV. 13. 1-6). We are further told by the same authorities that they were the kindreds of the southern realm of Vidarbha (Mat. 44. 36; Vāyu 95. 35-36). We have evidence of a closer connection between the Bhojas and Vidarbha. A place called Bhojakāṭa is included within Vidarbha both by the Harivāṇī (Vishṇu Parva, 60. 32) and the Mahābhārata (V. 157. 15-16). The Chammak grant of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II makes it clear that the Bhojakāṭa territory was equivalent to the Iliehpur district in Berar or Vidarbha (J. R. A. S., 1914, p. 329). Dr. Smith says, "The name Bhojakāṭa 'castle of the Bhojas' implies that the province was named after a castle formerly held by the Bhojas, an ancient ruling race mentioned in the edicts of Asoka." Kalidāsa in his Raghuvaṁśa (V. 39-40) calls the king of Vidarbha a Bhoja (*cf.* also Mbh. V. 48. 74; 157. 17). But Vidarbha was not the only Bhoja state. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers to several Bhoja kings of the south. A line of Bhojas must have ruled in Dandaka. A passage in the Arthaśāstra (Ed. 1919, p. 11.) runs thus:—

"Dāṇḍakyo nāma Bhojab kāmāt Brāhmaṇa-kanyām abhimanyamānas sabandhu rāshṭro vinanṣṭa"—a Bhoja known as Dāṇḍakya, or king of Dāṇḍaka, making a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa girl, perished along with his relations and kingdom. We learn from the Sarabhaṅga Jātaka (No. 522) that the kingdom of Dāṇḍaki had its capital at Kumbhavati. According to the Rāmāyaṇa (VII. 92. 18) the name of the capital was Madhumanta, while the Mahāvastu (Senart's Edition, p. 363) places it at Govardhana (Nāsik).

It is clear, from what has been stated above, that there were, in the age of the later Vaidehas, and the Brāhmaṇas, many kingdoms in the south, both Aryan and Non-Aryan, namely, the Bhoja kingdoms, one of which was Vidarbha, and another, probably, Dandaka, as well as Assaka and Kaliṅga. With the exception of these organised states the whole of Trans-Vindhyan India was occupied by non-Aryan (dasyu) tribes such as the Andhras, Sabaras, Pulindas and probably also the Mūtibas (Ait. Br. VII. 18). In the opinion of Dr. Smith the Andhras were a Dravidian people, now represented by the large population speaking the Telugu language, who occupied the deltas of the Godāvarti and the Krishnā. Mr. P. T. Srīnivās Iyengar argues that the Andhras were originally a Vindhya tribe, and that the extension of Andhra power was from the west to the east down the Godāvarti and Krishnā valleys (Ind. Ant., 1913, pp. 278-8). Prof. Bbandarkar points out that the Serivāpij Jātaka places Andhapura, i.e., the pura or capital of the Andhras, on the river Telavāha which he identifies with the modern Tel or Telingiri (Ind. Ant., 1918, p. 71). But if "Seri" or Srirājya refers to the Ganga Kingdom of Mysore, Telavāha may have been another name of the Tungabhadra-Krishnā, and Andhapura identical with Bezwāda. The Mayidavolu plates of the early Pallava king Siva-skanda-varman prove that the Andhra country (Andhrāpatha) embraced the Krishnā District and had its centre at Dhañnakada or Bezwāda (Ep. Ind. VI. 88).

The Śabaras and the Pulindas are described in the Matsya and the Vayu Purānas as Dakṣināpathavāsinah, together with the Vaidarbhas and the Dandakas:

Teshām pare janapadā Dakṣināpathavāsinah



Kārūshāscha saha-īshikā Āṭabyāḥ Śabarāstatha  
 Pulindā Vindhya Pashikā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha  
 (Matsya, 114. 46-48.)

Ābbirāḥ saha cha-īshikāḥ Āṭabyāḥ Śabarāścha ye  
 Pulindā Vindhya Mulika Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha  
 (Vāyu, 45. 126.)

The Mahābhārata also places the Andhras, Pulindas and Śabaras in the Deccan :

Dakṣināpathajanmānaḥ serve nāravar-Āndhrakāḥ  
 Gubāḥ Pulindāḥ Śabarāś Chuebukā Madrakaiḥ saha.  
 (Mbh. XII. 407. 42.)

The precise position and extent of the country of the Śabaras cannot be shown. They are usually identified with the Suari of Pliny and the Sabarae of Ptolemy, and are probably represented by the Savaralu, or Sauras of the Vizagapatam Hills, and the Savaris of the Gwalior territory (Ind. Ant., 1879, p. 232, Conn. AGI, new ed., pp. 583, 586).

The capital of the Pulindas (Pulindanagara) probably lay to the south-east of Daśarūpa (Mbh. II. 5-10), i.e., the Vidiśa or Bhilsa region (Meghadūta, 24-25).

The location of the territory of the Mūtibas, another Dasyu tribe mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa along with the Andhras, Pulindas, and Śabaras, is not so certain. Megasthenes refers to a tribe called "Modubae," and places them beyond the "Modo-galingae," who inhabited a very large island in the Ganges. The Modubae are associated with the Uberae, perhaps, identical with the Savaras of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. In the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XV. 26. 6) the Mūtibas are called Müchipa or Müvipa. It is not altogether improbable that the Müchipas are the people who appear in the Mārkandeya Purāṇa (57. 46) under the designation of Mushika. A

## ANCIENT DAKSHINĀPATHA.



Specially prepared for Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India,

comparison of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa with the Śāṅkhayana Śrauta Sūtra betrays a good deal of confusion with regard to the second and third consonants of the name. It was, therefore, perfectly natural for later generations to introduce further variations. The Mushikas were probably settled on the banks of the river Musi on which Hyderabad now stands.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE SIXTEEN MAHĀJANAPADAS.

The Vedic texts do not throw much light on the political history of the period which elapsed from the fall of the Videhan monarchy to the rise of Kosala under Mahākosala, the father-in-law of Bimbisāra. But we know from the Buddhist Ānguttara Nikāya that during this period there were sixteen states of considerable extent and power known as the Solasa Mahājanapada. These states were :—

1. Kāsi	9. Kuru
2. Kosala	10. Pāñchāla
3. Aṅga	11. Macheṭṭha (Matiya)
4. Magadha	12. Sūṣmā
5. Vajji	13. Assaka
6. Malla	14. Avanti
7. Chetiya (Chedi)	15. Gandhāra
8. Vāsas (Vatsa)	16. Kamboja.

These Mahājanapadas flourished together during a period posterior to Kalāra-Janaka but anterior to Mahākosala, because one of them, Vajji, rose to power after the fall of the Videhan monarchy, while another, namely, Kāsi, lost its independence before the time of Mahākosala and formed an integral part of the Kosalan monarchy in the sixth century B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Pargiter, *Māckudyeśa Purāṇa*.

The Jaina Bhagavati Sūtra gives a slightly different list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas :

1. Āṅga	9. Pāñha (Pāṇḍya ?)
2. Bahga	10. Lēcha (Rśīha)
3. Magaha (Magadha)	11. Bajji (Vajji)
4. Mālava	12. Moli
5. Matava	13. Kāsi
6. Achehha	14. Kosala
7. Vaehehha (Vatsa)	15. Avaha
8. Kacchha (Kacchha ?)	16. Sambhuttara (Sumbhot-tara?)

It will be seen that Āṅga, Magadha, Vatsa, Vajji, Kāsi, and Kosala are common to both the lists. Mālava of the Bhagavati is probably identical with Avanti of the Āṅguttara. Moli is probably a corruption of Malla. The other states mentioned in the Bhagavati are new, and indicate a knowledge of the far east and the far south of India. The more extended horizon of the Bhagavati clearly proves that its list is later than the one given in the Buddhist Āṅguttara. We shall, therefore, accept the Buddhist list as a correct representation of the political condition of India after the fall of the House of Janaka.

Of the sixteen Mahājanapadas Kāsi was probably at first the most powerful. We have already seen that Kāsi probably played a prominent part in the subversion of the Videhan monarchy. Several Jātakas bear witness to the superiority of its capital Benares over the other cities, and the imperial ambition of its rulers. The Guttīla Jātaka (No. 243) says that the city of Benares is the chief city in all India. It extended over twelve leagues<sup>1</sup> whereas Mithilā and Indapatta were each only seven leagues in extent.<sup>2</sup> Several Kāsi monarchs are described as

<sup>1</sup> " Dvadasayojanikam sekhālūtrānta vaganam "—Sambhava Jātaka, No. 515 Sarabha-migs J. 433; Bhūridatta J. 545.

<sup>2</sup> Suruchi J. 429; Viśvarupandita J. 845.

aspirants for the dignity of "sabbarājūnam aggarājā," and lord of sakala-Jambudipa (Bhaddasāla Jātaka, 465; Dhonasākha Jātaka, 353). The Mahāvagga also mentions the fact that Kāsi was a great realm in former times:

" Bhūtapubbañ bhikkhave Barañasiya m Brahmadatto nāma Kāsirāja ahosi ajḍbo mahaddhano Mahābhogo mahabbalo mahāvāhano mahāvijito paripuṇṇakosa kottibāgāro."<sup>1</sup>

The Jainas also afford testimony to the greatness of Kāsi, and represent Aśvasena, king of Benares, as the father of their Tirthakara Pārśva who is said to have died 250 years before Mahāvīra, i.e., in 777 B.C.

Already in the Brāhmaṇa period a king of Kāsi named Dhṛtarāshṭra attempted to offer a horse sacrifice, but was defeated by Satānika Satrājita with the result that the Kāsīs down to the time of the Śalapatha Brāhmaṇa, gave up the kindling of the sacred fire (Sat. Br., XIII, 5, 4, 19). Some of the other Kāsi monarchs were more fortunate. Thus in the Brahmachatta Jātaka (No. 336) a king of Benares is said to have gone against the king of Kosala with a large army. He entered the city of Sāvatthi and took the king prisoner. The Kosambi Jātaka (No. 428), the Kunala Jātaka (No. 536) and the Mahāvagga (S.B.E., Vol. XIII, pp. 294-299) refer to the annexation of the kingdom of Kosala by the Brahmadattas of Kāsi. The Assaka Jātaka (No. 207) refers to the city of Potali, the capital of Assaka in Southern India, as a city of the kingdom of Kāsi. Evidently the reigning prince of Potali was a vassal of the sovereign of Kāsi. In the Sona-Nanda Jātaka (No. 532) Manoja, king of Benares, is said to have subdued the kings of Kosala, Āṅga, and Magadha. In the Mahābhārata (XIII, 30) Pratardana, king of Kāsi, is said to have crushed the power of the

<sup>1</sup> Mahāvagga X, 2, 2; Vinaya Piṭaka I, 342.

Vitahavyas or Haihayas. In the absence of corroborative evidence it is difficult to say how far the account of the achievements of individual kings, mentioned in the Jātakas and the epic, is authentic. But the combined testimony of many Jātakas and the Mahavagga clearly proves that Kāsi was at one time a great, almost imperial, power, stronger than many of its neighbours including Kosala.

Prof. Bhandarkar has pointed out that several Kāsi monarchs, who figure in the Jātakas, are also mentioned in the Purāṇas, e.g., Vissasena of Jātaka No. 268, Udaya of Jātaka No. 458, and Bhallatiya of Jātaka No. 504 are mentioned in the Purāṇas as Vishvaksena, Uda-kasena, and Bhallata (Matsya 49, 57 *et seq.*; Vāyu 99, 180 *et seq.*; Vishnu IV, 19, 13).

We know from the Bhojājāniya Jātaka (No. 23) that "all the kings round coveted the kingdom of Benares." We are told that on one occasion seven kings encompassed Benares (Jātaka 181). Benares in this respect resembled ancient Babylon and medieval Roma, being the coveted prize of its more warlike but less civilized neighbours.

The kingdom of **Kosala** was bounded on the west by Pañchāla, on the south by the Sarpika or Syandikā (Sai) river (Rām. II, 49, 11-12; 50, 1), on the east by the Sadānīra which separated it from Videha, and on the north by the Nepāl hills. Roughly speaking, it corresponds to the modern Oudh. It included the territory of the Sākyas of Kapilavastu. In the Sutta Nipata (S.B.E., X, Part II, 68-69) Buddha says, "just beside Himavanta there lives a people endowed with the power of wealth, the inhabitants of Kosala. They are Ādiokchas<sup>1</sup> by family Sākiyas by birth; from that family I have wandered

<sup>1</sup> Belonging to the Āditya (Solar) race (cf. Lüders Ins. 929 f.). For an early reference to the Lunar family (Chandra-Suta) see the Nānāghat inscription (AEWI, V, p. 80).

out, not longing for sensual pleasures." This passage leaves no room for doubt that the Sakiyas or Śakyas were included among the inhabitants of Kosala. If any doubt is still entertained it is set at rest by Pasenadi's words recorded in the Majjhima Nikāya (II, 124):

"*Bhagavā pi khattiyo, aham pi khattio, Bhagavā pi Kosalako, aham pi Kosalako, Bhagavā pi āśitiko, aham pi āśitiko.*"

Kosala proper contained three great cities, namely, Ayodhyā, Saketa and Sāvatthi or Śravasti, besides a number of minor towns like Setavyā (Pāyāsi Suttanta) and Ukkattha (Amhattha Sutta). Ayodhyā (Oudh) was a town on the river Sarayū. Saketa is often supposed to be the same as Ayodhyā, but Prof. Rhys Davids points out that both cities are mentioned as existing in the Buddha's time. They were possibly adjoining like London and Westminster. Sāvatthi is the great ruined city on the south bank of the Rāpti called Saheth-Maheth which is situated on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts of the United Provinces.

In the story of the spread of Aryan culture told in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa the Kosalas appear as falling later than the Kuru Pañchālas, but earlier than the Videhas, under the influence of Brāhmaṇical civilisation.

In the Rāmāyaṇa and in the Purāṇas the royal family of Kosala is represented as being descended from a king named Ikshvāku. Branches of this family are represented as ruling at Viśāla or Vaisāli (Rāmāyaṇa I. 47, 11-12), at Mithila (Vāyu, P. 89, 3) and at Kusinārā (The Kusa Jataka No. 531). A prince named Ikshvāku is mentioned in a passage of the Rig Veda (X. 60, 4). In the Atharva Veda (XIV. 39, 9) either Ikshvāku, or one of his descendants, is referred to as an ancient hero. The Purāṇas give lists of kings of the Aikshvāka dynasty from Ikshvāku himself to Prasenajit, the contemporary

of Bimbisāra. Many of these kings are mentioned in the Vedic literature. For example :—

Mandhātri Yuvanāśva (Vāyu, 88. 67) is mentioned in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (I. 2. 10 *et seq.*).

Purukutsa (Vāyu, 88. 72) is mentioned in the Rig Veda (I. 68. 7; 112. 7. 14; 174. 2. VI. 20. 10).

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 5) he is called an Aikshvāka.

Trasadasyu (Vāyu, 88. 74) is mentioned in the Rig Veda (IV. 38. 1; VII. 19. 3, etc.).

Tryarupa (Vāyu, 88. 77) is mentioned in the Rig Veda (V. 27). In the Pāñchavithśa Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 3. 12) he is called an Aikshvāka.

Triśaṅku (Vāyu, 88. 109) is mentioned in the Taittiriya Upanishad (I. 10. 1).

Hariśchandra (Vāyu, 88. 117) is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 13. 16) and is styled Aikshvāka.

Rohita, the son of Hariśchandra (Vāyu, 88. 119) is also mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 14).

Bhagiratha (Vāyu, 88. 167) is mentioned in the Jaiminiya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa (IV. 2. 12) and is called Aikshvāka. Under the name of Bhajeratha he is probably referred to in the Rig Veda (X. 60. 2) itself.

Ambarisha (Vāyu, 88. 171) is mentioned in the Rig Veda (I. 100. 17).

Rituparna (Vāyu, 88. 173) is mentioned in a Brāhmaṇa-like passage of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XX. 12).

Daśaratha (Vāyu, 88. 183) is possibly mentioned in the Rig Veda (I. 126. 4).

Rāma (Vāyu, 88. 184, may be the person of the same name mentioned in the Rig Veda (X. 93. 14). But Daśaratha and Rāma in the Vedic passages

are not connected with either the Ikshvāku family or with Kosala.

Hiranyanābha Kausalya (*Vāyu*, 88. 207), is mentioned in the Praśna Upanishad, VI. 1, and the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, XVI. 9. 13. He is probably connected with Para Ātīrtha Hairanyanābha, the Kosala king mentioned in a gāthā occurring in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII. 5. 4. 4. According to the Praśna Upanishad, Hiranyanābha was a contemporary of Sukeśa Bhāradvāja (VI. 1), who was himself a contemporary of Kausalya Āśvalāyana (Praśna, I. 1). If it be true, as seems probable, that Āśvalāyana of Kosala is identical with Assalāyana of Sāvatthi mentioned in the Majjhima Nikaya (II. 147 *et seq.*) as a contemporary of Gotama Buddha, he must be placed in the sixth century B.C. Consequently Hiranyanābha, too, must have lived in that century. The patronymic "Hairanyanābha" of Para Ātīrtha probably indicates that he was a son of Hiranya-nābha.

Some of the later princes of the Purāṇic list (*e.g.*, Śākya, Śuddhodana, Siddhārtha, Rāhula and Prasenajit) are mentioned in Buddhist texts. The relations of Hiranyanābha with Prasenajit, who also flourished in the sixth century B.C., will be discussed in a later chapter.

It is clear from the facts mentioned above that the Purāṇic lists contain names of real kings and princes. But they have many glaring defects.

(1) Branches of the Ikshvāku family ruling over different territories have been mixed together, *e.g.*, Trasadasyu, king of the Pūrus (*Rig Veda*, IV. 38. 1; VII. 19. 3), Rituparṇa, king of Saphala (*Baud. Śrauta Sūtra*, XX. 12), Śuddhodana of Kapilavastu and Prasenajit, king of Śāvasti, have been mentioned in such a way as to leave

the impression that they formed a continuous line of princes who ruled in regular succession.

(2) Contemporaries have been represented as successors and collaterals have been represented as lineal descendants, e.g., Prasenajit, king of Śrāvasti, is represented as the lineal successor of Siddhārtha and Rāhula, though he was actually a contemporary of Siddhārtha, and belonged to a different branch of the Ikshvāku family.

(3) Certain names have been omitted, e.g., Para-Ātpāra and Mahākosala.

(4) The name of Siddhārtha (Buddha), who never ruled, has been included.

It is not easy to find out all the kings of the Purānic list who actually ruled over Kosala. The names of some of the earlier kings of the list, e.g., Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, Harischandra, Rohita, Rituparṇa and a few others, are omitted from the dynastic list of the kings of Ayodhyā given in the Ramayana (I. 70). We know from the Vedic literature that most, if not all, of these princes ruled over territories lying outside Kosala. The only kings or Rājās mentioned in the Purānic list who are known from Vedic and early Buddhist texts to have reigned in Kosala, or over some part of it, are Hiranya-nābha, Prasenajit and Sudhodana.

The Vedic texts mention another king named Para-Ātpāra. The Buddhist works mention a few other kings of Kosala, but their names do not occur in the epic and Purānic lists. Some of these kings had their capital at Ayodhyā, others at Sāketa, and the rest at Śrāvasti. Of the princes of Ayodhyā the Ghata Jātaka (No. 454) mentions Kalasena. A Kosalarāja reigning in Sāketa is mentioned in the Nandiyamiga Jātaka (No. 385). Vaṅka, Mahākosala and many others<sup>1</sup> had their capital at Sāvatthi or Śrāvasti. Ayodhyā seems to have been the

<sup>1</sup> E.g., The Kosalarāja of I. 75; Chatta (396); Subhūmitra (512); and Prasenajit.

earliest capital, and Sāketa the next. The last capital was Śrāvasti. Ayodhyā had sunk to the level of an unimportant town in Buddha's time (Buddhist India, p. 34), but Sāketa and Śrāvasti were included among the six great cities of India (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, S.B.E., XI, p. 99).

The chronology of ancient Kosala is in a state of utmost confusion. If the Purāṇas are to be believed, a prince named Divākara occupied the throne of Ayodhyā in the time of Adhisimakrishṇa, great-great-grandson of Parikshit. It is not known when the older capitals were abandoned in favour of Śrāvasti. But it must have been some considerable time before the accession of Prasenajit, the contemporary of Bimbisāra, and of Udayana, the descendant of Adhisimakrishṇa.

We learn from the Mahāvagga (S.B.E., XVII, p. 294) that during the period of the earlier Brahmadattas of Kāsi, Kosala was a small realm : Dighiti nāma Kosala-  
rāja abosi daliddo appadhano appabhogo appabalo  
appavāhano appavijito aparipunṇakosakoṭhāgāro.

In the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., however, Kosala was a mighty kingdom which contended first with Kāsi, and afterwards with Magadha for the mastery of the Madhyadeśa. The history of its struggles with Kāsi is reserved for treatment in a later chapter. The rivalry with Magadha ended in the absorption of the kingdom into the Magadhan Empire.

**Anga** was the country to the east of Magadha. It was separated from the latter kingdom by the river Champa, modern Chāndan. The Aṅga dominions, however, at one time included Magadha and probably extended to the shores of the sea. The Vidyhura Pañdita Jātaka (No. 545) describes Rājagrīha as a city of Aṅga. The Sānti Parva of the Mahābhārata (29. 85) refers to an Aṅga king who sacrificed on Mount Vishṇupada (at Gayā). The Sabha-parva (44.9) mentions Aṅga and Vāṅga as forming one

Vishaya or kingdom. The *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* says (25.35; 26.115; 82.3-16) that Viṭaṅkapur, a city of the Āngas, was situated on the shore of the sea.

Champā, the famous capital of Āṅga, stood on the river of the same name (*Jātaka* 506) and the Ganges.<sup>1</sup> Cunningham points out that there still exist near Bhāgpalpur two villages, Obampanagara and Champapura, which most probably represent the actual site of the ancient capital. It is stated in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and the *Hari-viṁśatī* that the ancient name of Champā was Mālinī<sup>2</sup>:

Champasya tu puri Champā  
Ya Mālinyabhadvat purū

In the *Jātaka* stories the city is also called Kala-Champā. The *Mahā-Jānaka Jātaka* (No. 539) informs us that Champā was sixty leagues from Mithilā. The same *Jātaka* refers to its gate, watch-tower, and walls. Down to the time of Gotama Buddha's death it was considered as one of the six great cities of India, the other five being Rājagṛha, Śravasti, Śāketa, Kauśambi, and Benares.<sup>3</sup> Champā increased in wealth and traders sailed from it to Suvarṇabhūmi for trading purposes.<sup>4</sup> Emigrants from Champā to Cochin China are supposed to have named their settlement after this famous Indian city.<sup>5</sup>

The earliest appearance of Āṅga is in the *Atharva Veda* (V. 22. 14) in connection with the Gandhāris, Mūjavants, and Magadhas. The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells an absurd story about the origin of this Janapada. It is related in that epic that Madana having incurred the displeasure of Mahādeva fled from the hermitage of the latter to escape

<sup>1</sup> Watier, Yuan Chwang, II. 181; Daśakumāra Charita, II. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Matsya, 48, 97; Vayu, 98, 105-06; Hariv. 32, 49; Mih. XII, 5, 6-7.

<sup>3</sup> Mahāgarinibhāṣa Butta.

<sup>4</sup> Jātaka, Camb. Ed., VI, 539, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Ind. Ant. VI, 229; Itsing, 58. Nundodal Dey, Notes on Ancient Āṅga, JASB, 1914.

his consuming anger, and the region where "he cast off his body (Aṅga)" has since been known by the name of Aṅga (JASB, 1914, p. 317). The Mahābhārata attributes the foundation of the kingdom to a prince named Aṅga. There may be some truth in this tradition. Aṅga Vairochana is included in the list of anointed kings in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 2<sup>1</sup>). The Mahāgovinda Suttanta mentions king Dhatarattha of Aṅga.<sup>2</sup> The Buddhist texts mention a queen named Gaggarā who gave her name to a famous lake in Champā. The Purāṇas (Matsya, 48. 91-108; Vayu, 99. 100-112) give lists of the early kings of Aṅga. One of these kings, Dadhivāhana, is known to Jaina tradition. The Purāṇas and the Harivamśa (32. 43) represent him as the son and immediate successor of Aṅga. Jaina tradition places him in the beginning of the sixth century B.C. His daughter Chandanā or Chandrabalā was the first female who embraced Jainism shortly after Mahavira had attained the Kevaliship (JASB, 1914, pp. 320-321). Satānka, king of Kausambi attacked Champā, the capital of Dadhivāhana, and in the confusion which ensued, Chandanā fell into the hands of a robber, but all along she maintained the vows of the order. Magadha was then a small kingdom. A great struggle for supremacy was going on between Aṅga and Magadha.<sup>3</sup> The Viḍhura Paṇḍita Jātaka (Cowell, VI. 133) describes Rājagrīha as a city of Aṅga, while the Mahābhārata refers to a sacrifice which an Aṅga king performed at Mt. Vishṇupada (at Gayā). These facts probably indicate that at one time the Aṅga king annexed Magadha. Brahmadatta, king of Aṅga, is actually known to have defeated Bhattiya, king of Magadha. Aṅga had, at this time, an ally in the king of the Vatsas. Sri Harsha speaks of a king of

<sup>1</sup> Dialogues of the Buddha, II. 270.

<sup>2</sup> Champaeyya Jātaka.

Āṅga named Dṛḍhavarman being restored to his kingdom by Udayana, king of Kauśambi (Priyadarśikā, Act IV).

The destruction of the kingdom of Āṅga was effected by Bhattiya's son Bimbisāra Śrenika of Magadha who killed Brahmadatta, took his capital Champā, and resided there as viceroy till his father's death when he returned to Rājagrīha.<sup>1</sup>

Magadha corresponds roughly to the present Patna and Gayā districts of Bibār. Its earliest capital was Girivraja, or old Rājagrīha, near Rājgir among the hills near Gayā. The Mahāvagga (S.B.E., XIII, 15<sup>o</sup>) calls it Giribhaja of the Magadhas to distinguish it from other cities of the same name (*cf.* Girivraja in Kekaya). The Mahābhārata refers to it as Girivraja, Bārbadrathapura (II, 24, 44), and Māgadhapura (Goratham girimāśadya dadriśur Māgadhanpuram II, 20, 30), and says that it was an impregnable city, purah duṣṭharshati samantatobh, being protected by five hills, Vaihāra "Vipulab̄ sailo," Varāha, Vyishabha, Rishigiri and Chaityaka. From the Rāmāyaṇa we learn that the city had another name Vasumatī (I, 32, 8). The life of Hiuen Tsang (p. 113) mentions still another name, Kusāgarapura. Indian Buddhist writers give a seventh name, Bimbasārapuri (Law, Buddhaghosha, 87n).

In a passage of the Rig Veda (III, 53, 14) mention is made of a territory called Kikāṭa ruled by a chieftain named Pramaganda. Yāska (Nirukta VI, 33) declares that Kikāṭa was the name of a non-Aryan country. In later works Kikāṭa is given as a synonym of Magadha (*cf.* Abhidhāna chintāmaṇi, "Kikāṭa Magadhāhvayāḥ"; Bhāgavata Purāṇa I, 3, 24; Buddhōnāmnāñjanssutah Kikāṭeshu bhavishyati; Śridhara "Kikāṭah Gayāpradesāḥ").

The name Magadha first appears in the Atharva Veda (V, 22, 14) where fever is wished away to the Gandhāris,

Mūjavants, Āngas, and Magadhas. The men of Magadha are usually spoken of in the early Vedic literature in terms of contempt. In the *Vṛātya* (XV) book of the *Atharva Sāmhitā*, the *Vṛātya*, i.e., the Indian living outside the pale of Brāhmaṇism, is brought into very special relation to the Pūnischali and the Magadha, faith is called his harlot, the Mitra his Magadha<sup>1</sup>. In the Śrauta Sūtras the equipment characteristic of the *Vṛātya* is said to be given, when the latter is admitted into the Aryan Brāhmaṇical community, to the so-called Brāhmaṇas living in Magadha (*Brahma-bandhu Māgadhadēśya*, *Vedic Index* II. 116). The Brāhmaṇas of Magadha are here spoken of in a sneering tone as *Brahma-bandhu*. In the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, however, the views of a "Magadhvāśi" Brāhmaṇa are quoted with respect. The Vedic dislike of the Magadhas in early times was due, according to Oldenberg (Buddha, 400n) to the fact that the Magadhas were not wholly Brāhmaṇised. Pargiter (J.R.A.S., 1908, pp. 851-853) suggests that in Magadha the Aryans met and mingled with a body of invaders from the east by sea.

With the exception of Pramaganda no king of Magadha appears to be mentioned in the Vedic literature.

The earliest dynasty of Magadha according to the *Mahābhārata* (I. 63. 30) and the Purāṇas is that founded by Brāhmaṇa, the son of Vasu Chaidyoparichara, and the father of Jarāsandha. The *Rāmāyaṇa* (I. 32. 7) makes Vasu himself the founder of Girivṛiṇja or Vasumatī. A Brāhmaṇa is mentioned twice in the Rig Veda (I. 36. 18; X. 49. 6) but there is nothing to show that he is identical with the father of Jarāsandha. The Purāṇas give lists of the Bārbadratha kings from Jarāsandha's son Sahadeva to Rippūjaya, and apparently makes Senājit, seventh in descent from Sahadeva, the contemporary of Adhisima-kṛishṇa of the Pārikshita family

<sup>1</sup> Weber, *Bist Ind.* 104, p. 112.

and Divākara of the Ikshvāku line. But in the absence of independent external corroboration it is not safe to accept the Purānic chronology and order of succession of these princes as authentic (*cf.* pp. 65-66 *antej*). The Bārhadrathas are said to have passed away when Pulika placed his son Pradyota on the throne of Avanti. As Pradyota was a contemporary of Gotama Buddha it is reasonable to conclude that the Bārhadratha dynasty came to an end in the sixth century B.C. The Jaina writers mention two early kings of Rājagrīha named Samudravijaya and his son Gaya (S.B.E., XLV, 86). Gaya is said to have reached perfection which has been taught by the Jainas. But very little reliance can be placed on the uncorroborated assertions of late Jaina authors.

The second Magadhan dynasty, according to the Purāṇas, was the Śiśunāga line founded by a king named Śiśunāga. Bimbisāra, the contemporary of Buddha, is said to have belonged to this dynasty. Asvaghosha, however, in his *Buddha-charita*, distinctly (XI.2) refers to Śrenya, i.e., Bimbisāra as a scion, not of the Śiśunāga family, but of the Haryāṇaka-kula, and the Mahāvarīśa makes Susunāga the founder of a dynasty which succeeded that of Bimbisāra. The Purāṇas themselves relate that Śiśunāga will destroy the prestige of the Pradyotas and will be king:—

Ashtā-trimśachchhatam bhāvyah  
Prūdyotāḥ pañcha te sutaḥ  
Hatvā teshām yaśāḥ kṛtsnam  
Śiśunāga bhaviṣhyati.

(Vāyu Purāṇa, 99, 314.)

If this statement be true, then Śiśunāga must be later than the first Pradyota, namely Chanda Pradyota Maha-sena, who was, according to the early Pāli texts, a contemporary of Bimbisāra. It follows that Śiśunāga must

be later than Bimbisāra. But we have seen that the Purāṇas make Śīśunāga an ancestor of Bimbisāra. Thus the Purāṇas, in their present form, are self-contradictory. The inclusion of Vārāṇasi and Vaisālī within Śīśunāga's dominions (*Dynasties of the Kali Age*, 21; S.B.E., XI, p. xvi), proves that he came after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru who were the first to establish Magadhan authority in those regions. The Mālālankāravatthu tells us that Rājagrha lost her rank of royal city from the time of Śīśunāga. This also indicates that Śīśunāga came after the palmy days of Rājagrha, i.e., the period of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. Prof. Bhandarkar in his Carmichael Lectures, 1918, accepts the Ceylonese version and rejects the Purāṇic account of Bimbisāra's lineage. He makes Bimbisāra the founder of his dynasty, and says that he was a general who carved out a kingdom for himself at the expense of the Vajjis. The Mahāvaiśa, however, states (Geiger's translation, p. 12) that Bimbisāra was anointed king by his own father when he was only 15 years old. Turnour and N. L. Dey mention Bhatiyo or Bhattiya as the name of the father (Turnour, *Mahāvaiśa* I, 10; J.A.S.B., 1914, 321). The Tibetans on the other hand, call him Mahāpadma (*Essay on Gūṇḍhyā*, p. 173). We have already mentioned his defeat at the hands of Brahmadatta, king of Anga. The defeat was avenged by Bimbisāra who launched Magadha into that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Aśoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kalinga.

The Vajjis, according to Prof. Rhys Davids and Cunningham, included eight confederate clans (āṭhakula), of whom the Videhas, the Licchhavis, the Jñāṭrikas and the Vajjis proper were the most important. The identity of the remaining clans remains uncertain. It may, however, be noted here that in a passage of the Sūtrakritāṅga the Ugras, Bhogas, Aikshvākas and

Kauravas are associated with the Jñātrikas and Lichchhavis as subjects of the same ruler and members of the same assembly (SBE, XLV, 339).

The Videhans had their capital at Mithilā which is identified by some scholars with the small town of Janakpur just within the Nepāl border. But a section of them may have settled in Vaishāli. To this section probably belonged the princess Trīśalā, also called Videhadattā, mother of Mahāvira.

The Lichchhavis had their capital at Vesāli (Vaisali) which has been identified with Besārh (to the east of the Gandak) in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihār. Vesāli is probably identical with the city called Viśalā in the Rāmāyaṇa (Ādi, 45, 10) :

Vissalām nāgarām rāmyām divyāt̄ svargopamām tada.

We learn from the introductory portion of the Ekapappa Jātaka (No. 149) that a triple wall encompassed the city, each wall a league distant from the next, and there were three gates with watch-towers.

The Jñātrikas were the clan of Siddhārtha and his son Mahāvira the Jina. They had their seats at Kunḍapura or Kunḍagrāma and Kollāga, suburbs of Vesāli. Nevertheless they were known as "Vesālie," i. e., inhabitants of Vesāli.<sup>1</sup>

The Vajjis or Vrijis are mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 2, 181). Kauṭilya<sup>2</sup> distinguishes the Vrijikas or Vajjis from the Lichchhivikas. Yuan Chwang (Watters, II. 81) also distinguishes the *Fu-li-chih* (Vṛiji) country from *Fei-sha-li* (Vaisali). It seems that Vrijika or Vajji was not only the name of the confederacy, but also of one of the constituent clans. But the Vajjis, like the Lichchhavis, are often associated with the city of Vesāli which was not only the capital of the Lichchhavi

<sup>1</sup> Rosalia, Urvācagadāśa, II, p. tn.

<sup>2</sup> Mysore Edition, 1919, p. 273.

clan, but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy.<sup>1</sup> A Buddhist tradition quoted by Rockhill (*Life of Buddha*, p. 62) mentions the city of Vesālī as consisting of three districts. These districts were probably at one time the seats of three different clans. The remaining clans of the confederacy resided in suburbs like Kupadigrāma, Kollāga, Vāṇiyagāma, etc.<sup>2</sup>

We have seen that during the Brāhmaṇa period Mithilā had a monarchical constitution. The Rāmāyaṇa (I. 47. 11-17) and the Purāṇas (Viṣṇu, 86. 16-22; Viṣṇu IV. 1. 18) state that Viśāla, too, was at first ruled by kings. The founder of the Vaiśalīka dynasty is said to have been Viśāla, a son of Ikshvāku according to the Rāmāyaṇa ; a descendant of Nābhāga, the brother of Ikshvāku, according to the Purāṇas. Viśāla is said to have given his name to the city. After Viśāla came Hemachandra, Suchandra, Dhumrāśva, Śrīñjaya, Sahadeva Kuśīśva, Somadatta, Kakutstha and Sumati. We do not know how much of the Rāmāyaṇic and Purāṇic account of the Vaiśalīka nṛipas can be accepted as sober history. A king named Sahadeva Sārūjaya is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 4. 4. 3. 4) as having once been called Suplau Sārūjaya, and as having changed his name because of his success in performing the Dākshayāyaṇa Sacrifice. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 34. 9) he is mentioned with Somaka Sahadevya. None of these kings, however, are connected with Vaiśālī in the Vedic literature.

The Vajjian confederation must have been organised after the fall of the royal houses of Videha,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Majjhima Nikāya, II. 101; the Book of the Kindred Sayings, Samyutta Nikāya, by Mrs. Rhys Davids, pp. 257, 259.

<sup>2</sup> For the Ugrasenī Bhogas see Brāhmaṇa, ap. III. 9. 2; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ap. XLV, 71a; the association of a body of "Kauravas" with the Vajjian group of clans is interesting. Kuru Brāhmaṇas, e.g. Ushasati Chakravartī, had begun to settle in North Bihar long before the rise of Buddhism. For the Alchsheukas of North Bihar see Pargiter, A.I.H.T., 65-97.

political evolution in India thus resembles closely the Political evolution in the ancient cities of Greece where also the monarchies of the Heroic Age were succeeded by aristocratic republics. The probable causes of the transformation in Greece are thus given by Bury : " in some cases gross misrule may have led to the violent deposition of a king ; in other cases, if the succession to the sceptre devolved upon an infant or a paltry man, the nobles may have taken it upon themselves to abolish the monarchy. In some cases, the rights of the king might be strictly limited, in consequence of his seeking to usurp undue authority ; and the imposition of limitations might go on until the office of the king, although maintained in name, became in fact a mere magistracy in a state wherein the real power had passed elsewhere. Of the survival of monarchy in a limited form we have an example at Sparta : of its survival as a mere magistracy, in the Archon Basileus at Athens."

The cause of the transition from monarchy to republic in Mithila has already been stated. Regarding the change at Viśālā we know nothing.

Several eminent scholars have sought to prove that the Lichchhavis, the most famous clan of the Vajjian confederacy, were of foreign origin. According to Dr. Smith the Lichchhavis were Tibstans in their origin. He infers this from their judicial system and the disposal of their dead.<sup>1</sup> Dr. S. C. Vidyābhushāga held that the Lichchhavis were originally Persians and came from the Persian city of Nisibi.<sup>2</sup> The unsoundness of these theories has been demonstrated by several writers (Modern Review, 1919, p. 50; Law, Some Kṣatriya Tribes, 26 ff). Indian tradition is unanimous in representing the Lichchhavis as Kshatriyas. Thus we read in the Mahāparinibbāna

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., 1869, p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., 1906, p. 78.

Suttanta : "and the Licchhavis of Vesāli heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā. And the Licchhavis of Vesāli sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying : 'the Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the reliquies of the Exalted One.'" In the Jaina Kalpa Sūtra Trisalā, sister to Chetaka, who is regarded by several scholars as a Licchhavi chief of Vesāli, is styled Kshatriyānt (S. B. E., XXII, pp. xii, 227).

Manu concurs in the view that the Licchhavis are Rājanyas or Kshatriyas (X, 22) :

Jhallo Mallascha rājanyād vrātyām Nichchhivireva cha  
Naṭascha Karapaśchaiva Khaso Drāvidā eva cha.

It may be argued that the Licchhavis, though originally non-Aryans or foreigners, ranked as Kshatriyas when they were admitted into the fold of Brāhmaṇism like the Drāvidians referred to in Manu's sloka and the Gurjara-Pratihāras of mediæval times. But, unlike the Pratihāras and Drāvidas, the Licchhavis never appear to be very friendly towards Brāhmaṇism. On the contrary, they were always to be found among the foremost champions of non-Brāhmaṇic creeds like Jainism and Buddhism. As a matter of fact Manu brands them as the children of the Vrātya Rājanyas. The great mediæval Rajput families (though sometimes descended from foreign immigrants) were never spoken of in these terms. On the contrary, they were supplied with pedigrees going back to Rāma, Lakshmana, Yadu, Arjuna and others. A body of foreigners, who were unfriendly towards the Brāhmaṇas, could hardly have been accepted as Kshatriyas. The obvious conclusion seems to be that the Licchhavis were indigenous Kshatriyas who were degraded to the position of Vrātyas

when they became champions of non-Brahmaical creeds. The Pāli commentary Paramatthajotikā (Vol. I, pp. 158-165) contains a legend regarding the Lichchhavis which traces their origin to a queen of Benares.

The date of the foundation of the Lichchhavi power is not known. But it is certain that the authority of the clan was firmly established in the time of Mahāvira and Gotama, i.e., in the sixth century B.C. A vivid description of the Lichchhavis is given by Buddha himself in the following words (SBE, XI, p. 82): "Let those of the brethren who have never seen the Tīvatīnsa gods, gaze upon this company of the Lichchhavis, behold this company of the Lichchhavis, compare this company of the Lichchhavis—even as a company of Tīvatīnsa gods."

Buddhist tradition has preserved the names of eminent Lichchhavis like prince Abbaya, Oṭṭhaddha, Mahāli, general Sīha, Dummukha and Sunakkhatta.<sup>1</sup> In the introductory portions of the Ekapāṇḍa (149) and Chulla Kaliṅga (301) Jātakas it is stated that the Lichchhavis of the ruling family numbered 7,707. There was a like number of viceroys, generals, and treasurers. The Jaina Kalpasūtra §128) refers to the "nine Lichchhavis" as having formed a confederacy with nine Mallakis and eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāsi-Kosala. We learn from the Nirayāvalī Sūtra that an important leader of this confederacy was Chetaka<sup>2</sup> whose sister Trīśalā or Videhadattā was the mother of Mahāvira, and whose daughter Chellānā or Vedehi was, according to Jaina writers, the mother of Kūṇika-Ajatasatru.

<sup>1</sup> Abigaṇḍu Nādyā, III, 74; Mahāli Sutta, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, p. 106; Mahārāgga, SBE, XVII, p. 106; Muṭṭhīmā N., I, 234; 68; II, 232; The Book of the Kindred Sayings, 235. For a detailed account of the Lichchhavis, see now Law, *Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India*.

<sup>2</sup> In the opinion of several scholars Chetaka was a Lichchhavi. But the secondary names of his sister (Videhadattā) and daughter (Vedehi) probably indicate that he was a Videhānā domiciled at Vesāli.

The great rival of Vaiśālī was Magadha. Tradition says that even in the time of the great Bimbisāra the Vaiśālians were audacious enough to invade their neighbours across the Ganges (Si-yu-ki, Bk IX). But in the reign of Ajātaśatru the tables were turned, and the great confederacy of Vaiśālī was utterly destroyed.

The preliminaries to the conquest of Vesālī are described in the Mahāvagga and the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta (SBE., XVII, p. 101; XI, pp. 1-5).

The **Malla** territory (Mallarattha or Mallarāshṭra, Mbh., VI. 9. 34) was divided into two parts which had for their capitals the cities of Kusavati or Kusinārā<sup>1</sup> and Pāvā. The exact site of Kusinārā is not yet known. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta it is stated that the Sala Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinārā lay near the river Hiranyavati. Smith identifies the Hiranyavati with the Gaṇḍak and says that Kuśinagara (Kusinārā) was situated in Nepāl, beyond the first range of hills, at the junction of the Little, or Eastern Rāpti with the Gaṇḍak (EHI., p. 169 n.). He, however, adds that the discovery in the large stupa behind the Nirvāpa temple near Kasiā of an inscribed copper plate bearing the words "[parini] r vāna-chaitye tāmrapatṭa iti," has revived and supported the old theory, propounded by Wilson and accepted by Cunningham, that the remains near Kasiā (on the Chota Gaṇḍak), in the east of the Gorakhpur District, represent Kuśinagara.

Pāvā has been identified by Cunningham (AGI. 498) with the village named Padaraona, 12 miles to the NNE. of Kasiā and separated from it by the Bādhi Nala (ancient Kukutthā). Carleyle, however, proposes to identify Pāvā with Fazilpur, 10 miles SE. of Kasiā and separated from it by the Kuku (Kukutthā; AGI. 714).

<sup>1</sup> *Kusa Jātaka* No. 531; *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, pp. 161-162.

The Mallas together with the Lichchhavis are classed by Manu as *Vratya Kshatriyas*. They too, like the Lichchhavis, were ardent champions of Buddhism.

Like Videha, Malla had a monarchical constitution at first. The Kusa Jataka mentions a Malla king named Okkaka (*Ikshvāku*). The name Okkaka probably indicates that like the Śakyas (*cf.* Dialogues, Part I, pp. 114-115) the Malla kings also belonged to the Ikshvāku family. And this is confirmed by the fact that in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* they are sometimes called *Vāsetthas*, i.e., "belonging to the *Vasishtha gotra*" (Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, pp. 162, 179, 181). The *Mahāsudassana Sutta* mentions another king named *Mahāsudassana* (SBE., XI, p. 248). These kings, Okkaka and *Mahāsudassana*, may or may not have been historical individuals. The important thing to remember is that *Mallarattha* was at first ruled by kings. This conclusion is confirmed by the evidence of the *Mahābhārata* (II. 30. 3) which refers to a king of the Mallas. During the monarchical period the metropolis was a great city and was styled *Kusavati*.

Before Bimbisāra's time the monarchy had been replaced by a republic (*cf.* SBE., XI, p. 102; Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, 1919, p. 378); and the metropolis had sunk to the level of a "little wattle and daub town," a "branch township" surrounded by jungles. It was then styled *Kusinārā*.

The Mallas had several other important cities namely *Bhoga-nagara*,<sup>1</sup> *Anupiya* and *Uravelakappa*.<sup>1</sup>

The relations of the Mallas with the Lichchhavis were sometimes hostile and sometimes friendly. The introductory story of the Bhaddasāla Jataka (No. 465) contains an account of a conflict between Bandhula the Mallian (Commander-in-chief of the king of Kośala) and 500 kings of the Lichchhavis. The Jaina *Kalpasūtra*, however, refers to nine Mallakis as having formed a league

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *Bhoga*, p. 37 *ant*; *Sutta Nipata*, 194, *Uvācagadāsa*, II. Appendix, p. 67; Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 149.

with nine Lichchhavis, and the eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāśī-Kośala.<sup>1</sup>

The league was evidently aimed against Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru who, like Philip of Macedon, was trying to absorb the territories of his republican neighbours. The Malla territory was finally annexed to Magadha. It certainly formed a part of the Maurya Empire in the third century B.C.

Chedi was one of the countries encircling the Kurus (parītah Kurūn, Mbh. IV. i. 11), and lay near the Jumna (L. 63. 2-58). In ancient times it corresponded roughly to the modern Bundelkhand and the adjoining region. In the mediæval period, however, the southern frontiers of Chedi extended to the banks of the Narmadā (Mekalasutā):

“Nadinām Mekala-suta nṛipanām Ranavighrahāḥ  
Kavīnāmcha Surānandaś Chedi-maṇḍala manḍanām”<sup>2</sup>

We learn from the Chetiya Jātaka (No. 422) that the metropolis was Sotthivati-nagara. The Mahābhārata calls the capital Śuktimati (III. 20.50) or Śukti-sāhvaya (XIV. 83.2). As pointed out by Mr. Nundolal Dey, Sotthivati is the same as Śuktimati.<sup>3</sup> The Great Epic mentions also a river called Śuktimati which flowed by the capital of Rājā Uparichara of Chedi-vishaya (L. 63, 35). Pargiter identifies the stream with the Ken, and places the city of Śuktimati in the neighbourhood of Banda.<sup>4</sup> Other towns of note were Sahajati (Aṅguttara III, 355) and Tripuri, the mediæval capital of the Janapada.

The Chedi people are mentioned as early as the

<sup>1</sup> Nava Mallai nava Lachchhai Kāśī Kośalasya athāren vī goparīyū. Jacob translates the passage thus:

The eighteen confederate kings of Kāśī and Kośala, the nine Mallakas and the Lichchhavis.

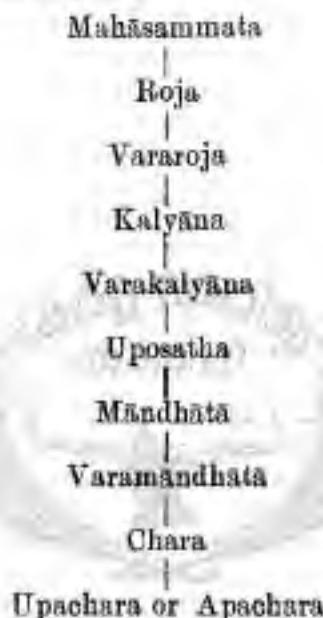
<sup>2</sup> Konow, Karṇapurāṇāśāṭṭa, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., 1919, p. vii of Geographical Dictionary.

<sup>4</sup> J.A.S.B., 1886, 296, Markandeya P. p. 859.

Rig Veda. Their king Kasu Chaidya is praised in a Dānastuti occurring at the end of one hymn (VIII. 5. 37-39). Rapson proposes to identify him with 'Vasu' of the Epics.

The Chetiya Jataka gives the following legendary genealogy of Chaidya kings :



The last king, Upachara, had five sons who are said to have founded the cities of Hatthipura, Assapura, Sihapura, Uttarapāñchāla and Daddarapura. This monarch is probably identical with Uparichara Vasu, the Paurava king of Chedi mentioned in the Mahābhārata (I. 63. 1-2), whose five sons also founded five lines of kings (I. 63. 30). But epic tradition associates the scions of Vasu's family with the cities of Kauśāmbī, Mahodaya and Girivraja (Rāmāyaṇa I. 32. 6-9; Mahābhārata I. 63. 30-33).

The Mahābhārata speaks also of other Chedi kings like Damaghosha, his son Śiśupāla Sunītha, and his son Dhṛisaketu who reigned about the time of the Bhārata war.

But the Jātaka and epic accounts of the early kings of Chedi are essentially legendary and, in the absence of more reliable evidence, cannot be accepted as genuine history.

We learn from the Vedabbha Jātaka (No. 48) that the road from Kasi to Chedi was unsafe being infested with roving bands of marauders.

**Vamsa** or **Vatsa** is the country of which Kausambi, modern Kosam near Allahabad, was the capital. Oldenberg (Buddha, 393 n) is inclined to identify the Vamsas with the Vasas of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. But the conjecture lacks proof. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions a teacher named Protī Kausambeya (Sat. Br., XII. 2. 2. 13) whom Harivāmin, the commentator, considers to be a native of the town of Kausambi. Epic tradition attributes the foundation of this famous city to a Chedi prince (Rām. I. 32. 3-6; Mbh., I. 63. 31). The origin of the Vatsa people, however, is traced to a king of Kasi (Harivānsa, 29, 73; Mbh., XII., 49. 80). It is stated in the Purāṇas that when the city of Hastinapura was carried away by the Ganges, Nichakshu, the great-great-grandson of Janamejaya, abandoned it, and removed his residence to Kausambi. We have already seen that the Purāṇic tradition about the Bhārata or Kuru origin of the later kings of Kausambi is confirmed by Śāṅka. Udayana king of Kausambi, is described in the Svapnavāsavadatta (Ed. Ganapati Sastri, p. 140) as a scion of the Bhārata kula.

The Purāṇas give a list of Nichakshu's successors down to Kshemaka, and cite the following genealogical verse :

Brahmakshatrasya yo yonir vamśo devarshi satkṛitaḥ  
Kshemakam prāpya rājānam samiṣṭham prāpsyati vai  
kalau.

The earliest king of Kausambi about whom we know anything is Satānika II of the Purānic list. His father's name was Vasudāna according to the Purāgas, and Sahasrānka according to Bhāsa. Satānika himself was also styled Parantapa (Buddhist India, p. 3). He married a princess of Videha as his son is called Vaidehiputra. He is said to have attacked Champa, the capital of Aṅga, during the reign of Dadhivāhana (JASB, 1914, p. 321). His son and successor was the famous Udayana the contemporary of Bimbisāra.

The Bhagga (Bharga) state of Samsumāragiri was a dependency of Vatsa.<sup>1</sup> The Mahābhārata (II. 30. 10-11) and the Hariyamśa (29. 73) testify to the close association of these two realms.

The Kuru state was according to Jātaka No. 537 (Maha-Sutasoma) three hundred leagues in extent. The Jātakas say that the reigning dynasty belonged to the Yuddhiṣṭhila gotta, i. e., the family of Yudhiṣṭhīra.<sup>2</sup> The capital was Indapatta or Indapattana, i. e., Indraprastha or Indrapat near the modern Delhi. It extended over seven leagues (Jātakas Nos. 537, 545). We hear of a number of *nigamas* or smaller towns besides the capital such as Thullakotthita, Kammāssadamma, and Vāraṇavata.

The Jātakas mention the following Kuru kings and princes: Dhanañjaya Koravya,<sup>3</sup> Koravya,<sup>4</sup> and Sutasoma.<sup>5</sup> We cannot, however, vouch for the historical existence of these personages in the absence of further evidence.

The Jaina Uttaradhyayana Sūtra mentions a king Ishukāra ruling at the town called Ishukāra in the Kuru

<sup>1</sup> Jātaka No. 388; Carmichael, loc., p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Dhūmākāri Jātaka, No. 413; Dasa Brāhmaṇa Jātaka, No. 496.

<sup>3</sup> Kurudhamma Jātaka No. 276; Dhūmākāri Jātaka No. 413; Sambubha Jātaka, No. 516; Viḍhusupagṛī Jātaka, No. 545.

<sup>4</sup> Dasa Brāhmaṇa Jātaka, No. 485; Mahāsurasoma Jātaka, No. 537.

<sup>5</sup> Mahāsurasoma Jātaka, cf. the Mahābhārata I. 86. 75 where Sutasoma appears as the name of a son of Bhīma.

country (SBE. XLV. 62). It seems probable that after the removal of the main royal family to Kauśāmbī, the Kuru realm was parcelled out into small states of which Indapatta and Ishukāra were apparently the most important. Later on the little principalities gave place to a Saṅgha or republic (*Arthaśāstra*, 1919, 378).

**Panchala** roughly corresponds to Rohilkhand and a part of the central Doāb. The *Mahābhārata*, the *Jātakas* and the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 435) refer to the division of this state into northern and southern. The Bhagirathī (Ganges) formed the dividing line (*Mbh.* I. 138. 70). According to the Great Epic, Northern Pañchāla had its capital at Ahicchhatra or Chhattravatī (the modern Rāmnagar near Aonlā in the Bareilly District), while Southern Pañchāla had its capital at Kāmpilya, and stretched from the Ganges to the Chambal (*Mbh.* 138. 73-74). A great struggle raged in ancient times between the Kurus and the Pañchālas for the possession of Uttara Pañchāla. Sometimes Uttara Pañchāla was included in Kururattha (*Somanassa Jātaka*, No. 505; *Mahābhārata* I. 138) and had its capital at Hāsti-napura (*Divyāvadāna*, p. 435), at other times it formed a part of Kampillarattha.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes kings of Kampilla-rattha held court at Uttara Pañchālanagara, at other times kings of Uttara Pañchālarattha held court at Kampilla (*Kumbhakara Jātaka*, No. 408).

The history of Pañchāla from the death of Pravāhana Jaivala or Jaivali to the time of Bimbisāra of Magadha is obscure. The only king who may perhaps be referred to this period is Durmukha (Dummukha), the contemporary of Nimi (*Jātaka* No. 408), who is probably to be identified with the penultimate sovereign of Mithila

<sup>1</sup> Brahmīdatta *Jātaka*, No. 323, Jayaddisa *Jātaka*, No. 518, and Gāṇḍatīdu *Jātaka*, No. 529.

(Jātaka No. 541). In the Kumbhakāra Jātaka it is stated that Dummukha's kingdom was styled Uttara Pañchālā-rattha; his capital was not Ahicchhatra but Kampillanagara. He is represented as a contemporary of Karapu, king of Kalinga, Naggaji (Nagnajit), king of Gandhāra and Nimi, king of Videha. We learn from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 23) that Durmukha, the Pañchāla king, made extensive conquests. His priest was Bṛihaduktha:

Etam ha vā Aindram Mahabbishekam Bṛihaduktha  
Rishir Durmukhaya Pañchālāya provācha tasmatdu Dur-  
mukhab Pañchālo Rāja sanvidyaya samantam sārvataḥ  
prithivīm jayan pariyāya.

A great Pañchāla king named Chulani Brahmadatta is mentioned in the Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka (546), the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra (SBE. XLV. 57-61), the Svapna-vāsavadatta (Act V) and the Rāmāyaṇa (I. 32). In the last mentioned work he is said to have married the daughters (Kanyāb) of Kusānābha who were made hump-backs (Kubja) by the wind-god. In the Jātaka Kevatta, the minister of Brahmadatta, is said to have formed a plan for making Chulani chief king of all India, and the king himself is represented as having laid siege to Mithila. In the Uttarādhyayana Brahmadatta is styled a Universal monarch. The story of Brahmadatta is, however, essentially legendary, and little reliance can be placed on it. The Rāmāyaṇic legend regarding the king is only important as showing the connection of the early Pañchālas with the foundation of the famous city of Kanyākubja or Kanauj.

The Uttarādhyayana Sūtra mentions a king of Kam-pilya named Sañjaya who gave up his kingly power and adopted the faith of the Jinas (SBE. XLV. 80-82). We do not know what happened after Sañjaya gave up his throne. But there is reason to believe that the Pañchālas, like the Videhas, Mallas and Kurus, established a

Saṅgha form of Government of the Rājaśabdopajivin type (*Arthaśāstra*, 1919, p. 378).

**Matsya** had its capital at Virātanagara or Bairāt in the modern Jaipur State.<sup>1</sup>

The early history of the Matsya kingdom has already been related. Its vicissitudes during the centuries which immediately preceded the reign of Bimbisāra of Magadha are not known. It is not included by Kautilya among those states which had a Saṅgha form of Government. The probability is that the monarchical constitution endured till the loss of its independence. It was probably at one time annexed to the neighbouring kingdom of Chedi. The *Mahābhārata* (V. 74, 16) refers to a king named Sahaja who reigned over both the Chedis and the Matsyas. It was finally absorbed into the Magadhan Empire. Some of the most famous edicts of Aśoka have been found at Bairāt.

The *Mahābhārata* (II. 31, 4) mentions a people called the Apara Matsyas who probably occupied the hill tract on the north bank of the Chambal (J.A.S.B., 1895, 251). The *Rāmāyaṇa* (II. 71, 5) has a reference to the Vira Matsyas. From the Dibbida plates (Ep. Ind. V. 108) we learn that a family of Matsyas settled in the Vizagapatam region in mediaeval times. We are told that Jayatsena, the lord of Utkala, gave to Satyamārianda of the Matsya family in marriage his daughter Prabhāvati, and appointed him to rule over the Oddavādi country. After twenty-three generations came Arjuna who ruled in 1269 A.D.

The Surasena country had its capital at Mathurā which, like Kauśambi, stood on the Yamunā. Neither Śurasena nor Mathurā finds any mention in the Vedic literature. But the Greek writers refer to the Sourasenoi and their cities Methora and Cleisobora.

<sup>1</sup> Carmichael Lee, 1919, p. 58.

In the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas the ruling family of Mathurā is styled the Yadu or Yādava family. The Yādavas were divided into various septs, namely, the Vitihotras, Sātvatas, etc. (Matsya, 43-44; Vāyu, 94-96). The Sātvatas were subdivided into several branches, e.g., the Daivārvīḍhas, Andhakas, Mahābhojas and Vṛishnis (Vishṇu, IV. 13. 1; Vāyu, 96. 1-2).

Yadu and his tribe are repeatedly mentioned in the Rig Veda. He is closely associated with Turvaśa and in one place (I. 108. 8) with Druhyu, Anu and Pūru. This association is also implied by the epic and Purāṇic legends which state that Yadu and Turvaśa were the sons of the same parents, and Druhyu, Anu and Pūru were their step-brothers.

We learn from the Rig Veda (I. 36. 18; VI. 45. 1) that Yadu and Turvaśa came from a distant land, and the former is brought into very special relation to the Parsus or Persians (VIII. 6. 46).<sup>1</sup> The Sātvatas or Satvats also appear to be mentioned in the Vedic texts. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 21) the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats or Satvants and his taking away the horse which they had prepared for an Aśvamedha are referred to. The geographical position of Bharata's kingdom is clearly shown by the fact that he made offerings on the Yamunā and the Ganges (Ait. Br. VIII, 23; Mbh. VII. 86. 8). The Satvats must have been occupying some adjoining region. The epic and Purāṇic tradition which places them in the Mathurā district is thus amply confirmed. At a later time, however, a branch of the Satvats may have migrated southward, for in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 14. 3), the Satvats

<sup>1</sup> Epigraphic evidence points to a close connection between Western Asia and India from about the middle of the second millennium B.C. Rig-Vedic Gods like Surya (Shuris), Marut (Maruttash), Indra, Mitra, Varṣa, the Nāsatyas, and even Daksha (daksh, star, O.A.H. I, 568) figure in the records of the Kassites and the Mitanni,

are described as a southern people ruled by Bhoja kings. In the Purāṇas also we find that a branch of the Sātvatas was styled Bhoja (Vishṇu IV. 13. 1-6) :

" Bhajina-Bhajamāna-divyāndhaka-Devaśrīdhā-Mabā-bhoja-Vrishṇi-samjñāḥ Sātvatasya putrā babbūvuh..... Mahā Bhojastvati dharmatmā tasyānvaye Bhojamārtikā-vata babbūvuh."

It is further stated that several southern states, Māhis-mati, Vidiarbha, etc., were founded by princes of Yadu lineage (Mat., p. 43. 10-29 ; 44. 36 ; Vāyu, 94. 26 ; 95. 35).

Not only the Bhojas, but the Devāvṛidha branch of the Sātvatas is also mentioned in the Vedic literature. Babbhu Daivāvṛidha (Vāyu, 96. 15, Vishṇu, IV. 13. 3-5) is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 34) as a contemporary of Bhīma, king of Vidiarbha and Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra. The Andhakas and Vrishṇis are referred to in the Ashṭādhyayī of Pāṇini (IV. 1. 114; VI. 2. 34). In Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (p. 12) the Vrishṇis are described as a Saṅgha, i. e., a republican corporation. The Mahābhārata, too, refers to the Vrishṇis, Andhakas and other associate tribes as a Saṅgha (XII. 81. 25), and Vāsudeva as a Saṅgha-mukhya. The name of the Vrishṇi corporation has been preserved by a unique coin.<sup>1</sup> It is stated in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas that Kāṁsa, like Peisistratus and others of Greek history, tried to make himself tyrant at Mathurā by overpowering the Yādavas, and that Kṛishṇa, a scion of the Vrishṇi family, killed him. The slaying of Kāṁsa by Kṛishṇa is referred to by Patañjali and the Ghata Jātaka (No. 454). The latter work confirms the Hindu tradition about the association of Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva's family with Mathurā ("Uttara Madhurā").<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Majumdar, Corporate Life in Ancient India, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> The question of the historical existence of Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva has been discussed in my Early History of the Vrishṇito Sect, pp. 26-35, and my Political History of Ancient India, 1st ed., 1929, p. 318.

The final overthrow of the Vrishnis is ascribed to their irreverent conduct towards Brāhmaṇas.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note in this connection, that the Vrishnis and the Andhakas are branded as Vrātyas in the Droṇa Parva of the Mahābhārata (111, 15). It is a remarkable fact that the Vrishni-Andhakas and other Vrātya clans (*e.g.* the Lichchhavis and Mallas) are found in historical times on the southern and eastern fringe of the "Dhruva Madhyamā dis" occupied by the Kuru-Pāñchālas. It is not improbable that they represent an earlier swarm of Aryans who were pushed southwards and eastwards by the Pūru-Bharatas, the progenitors of the Kuru-Pāñchālas. It may be remembered in this connection that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa actually refers to the defeat by Bharata of the Satyats—the progenitors of the Vrishni-Andhakas. And the Great Epic refers to the exodus of the Yādavas from Mathurā owing to pressure from the Paurava line of Magadha, and probably also from the Kurus (*cf.* bahu-Kurucharā Mathurā, Pt. IV. 1.1., GEI, p. 395 n.).

The Buddhist texts refer to Avantiputta king of the Sūrasenas in the time of Maha Kaechchāna (M. 2. 83) who was the first among the chief disciples of Śākyamuni through whose agency Buddhism gained ground in the Mathurā region. A king of Srasena named Kavinda is mentioned in the Kāvya-Mimāṃsa. The Sūrasenas continued to be a notable people up to the time of Megasthenes. But at that time they must have formed an integral part of the Maurya Empire.

**Assaka** was situated on the banks of the Godhvāri (Sutta Nipata, 977). The name of the territory represents the Sanskrit Āśmaka, identified by the commentator

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhārata, Mausala Parva, I. 15-22; 2. 10; Arthashastra, p. 12; Jatakā IV, pp. 25-26. V, p. 138.

Bhaṭṭasvāmin with Mahārāshṭra. The Aśmakas are mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 1. 178). As the grammarian refers to Dakṣiprātya (IV. 2. 98) and Kaliṅga (IV. 1. 178) his Aśmaka may be Assaka in the Deccan. It may, however, also denote the Aśmakas in North-West India referred to by the Greek writers as the Assakenoi.

The capital of Assaka was Potana or Potalī,<sup>1</sup> the Faudanya of the Mahābhārata (1.77. 47). Prof. Bhandarkar points out (Carm. Lee., pp. 53-54) that in early Pali literature Assaka has, on the one hand, been distinguished from Mulaka which lay to its north, and on the other from Kaliṅga. He suggests that in later times Assaka seems to have included Mulaka, and also perhaps Kaliṅga. In the Sona-Nanda Jātaka we find Assaka associated with Avanti; this association can only be explained if we surmise that Assaka included at that time Mulaka and thus its territory abutted on Avanti.

In the Vāyu Purāṇa (88. 177-178) Aśmaka and Mulaka appear as scions of the Ikshvāku family, and the Mahābhārata speaks of "Aśmakenāma Rājarshiḥ Paudanyam Yonyavessayat." This probably indicates that the Aśmaka and Mulaka kingdoms were believed to have been founded by Ikshvāku chiefs, just as Vidarbha and Dañjaka were founded by princes of the Yadu (Bhoja) family. The Mahāgovinda Suttanta mentions Brahmadatta king of the Assakas who was a contemporary of Sattabhu king of Kaliṅga, Vessabhu king of Avanti, Bharata king of Sovira, Repu king of Videha, Dhataratīha king of Āṅga and Dhataratīha king of Kāsi.<sup>2</sup>

We learn from the Assaka Jātaka (No. 207) that at one time the city of Potalī was included in the kingdom of Kāsi, and its prince, Assaka, was presumably a vassal of the Kāsi monarch. The Chulla Kaliṅga Jātaka

<sup>1</sup> Chulla-Kaliṅga Jātaka, No. 301; D. 2. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, p. 270.

mentions a king of Assaka named Aruṇa and his minister Nandisena, and refers to a victory which they won over the king of Kalinga.

Avanti roughly corresponds to modern Mālwā, Nimār and the adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. Prof. Bhandarkar points out that this *Janapada* was divided into two parts: the northern part had its capital at Ujjain and the southern part called Avanti Dakshināpatha had its capital at Māhiśatī or Māhiśmatī, usually identified with the modern Māndhātā on the Narmadā.<sup>1</sup>

Buddhist and Jain writers mention two other cities of Avanti named Kuraraghara and Sudarśanapura.<sup>2</sup>

The Mahāgovinda Suttanta mentions Māhiśatī as the capital of the Avantis, and refers to their king Vessabhu. The Mahābhārata, however, distinguishes between the kingdoms of Avanti and Māhiśmatī, but locates Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti near the Narmadā (Narmadāmabhitab, II. 31. 10).

The Purāṇas attribute the foundation of Māhiśmatī, Avanti, and Vidarbha to scions of the Yadu family. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa also associates the Satvats and the Bhojas, septs of the Yadu family according to the Purāṇas, with the southern realms (Matsya, 43-44; Vāyu, 95-96; Ait. Br. VIII. 14).

The Purāṇas style the first dynasty of Māhiśmatī as Haihaya (Matsya, 43. 8-29; Vāyu, 94. 5-26). This family is referred to by such an ancient authority as Kautilya (*Arthaśāstra*, p. 11). The Haihayas are said to have overthrown the Nāgas who must have been the aboriginal inhabitants of the Narmadā region (*cf.* Nāgpur). The Matsya Purāṇa mentions five branches of the

<sup>1</sup> There is one difficulty in the way of accepting this identification. Māndhātā lay to the south of the Pariyātra Mts. (W. Vindhya), whereas Māhiśmatī lay between the Vindhya and the Rikṣa—*to the north* of the Vindhya and *to the south* of the Rikṣa, acc. to the commentator Niśākāgama (Harivadā, II. 38. 7-10).

<sup>2</sup> Law, Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, p. 148; Kathākoṭa, 18;

Haihayas namely Vīthikeras, Bhojas, Avantis, Kunḍikeras or Tuṇḍikeras and the Tālajāṅgas (43. 48-49). When the Vīthikeras and Avantis passed away, a minister named Pulika (Puṇika) is said to have killed his master and anointed his own son Tradyota by force in the very sight of the Kshatriyas. In the fourth century B.C., Avanti formed an integral part of the Magadhan Empire.

The kingdom of **Gandhara** according to Jātaka No. 406 included Kāśmir as well as the Takshasīlā region. The evidence of the Jātaka appears to be confirmed by that of Hekataios of Miletos (B.C. 549-486) who refers to Kaspaþyros (Kaśyapapura, i.e. Kāśmir—cf. Rājataranginī I. 27) as a Gandaric city. Takshasīlā, the capital city, lay 2,000 leagues from Benares.<sup>1</sup>

The Purāṇas represent the Gandhāra kings as the descendants of Druhyu (Matysa 48. 6; Vāyu 99. 9). This king and his people are mentioned several times in the Rig Veda. In the Vedic Index (I. 385) it is stated that "from the tribal grouping it is probable that the Druhyus were a north-western people." Thus the Purāṇic tradition about the connection of the Gandhāras with Druhyu accords with Vedic evidence.

Takshasīlā is mentioned in the Mahābhārata in connection with the story of king Janamejaya by whom it had been conquered. In the time of Nimi king of Videha, Durmukha king of Pañchāla, and Bhīma king of Vidarbha, the throne of Gandhāra was occupied by Naggaji or Nagnajit (Kumbhakāra Jātaka; Ait. Br. VII. 31; Śat. Br. VIII. 1. 4. 10).<sup>2</sup> We learn from the Kumbhakāra Jātaka that his capital was Takshasīlā. The Jaina Uttarādhyayana Sūtra mentions "Dvimukha" of Pañchā-

<sup>1</sup> Telopatra Jātaka, No. 98; Susumu Jātaka, No. 168.

<sup>2</sup> A Nagnajit also appears in the Mahābhārata as the Gandharan contemporary of Kṛishṇa (V. 48. 76). But the same epic mentions Śekunt as the King of Gandhāra in the time of Kṛishṇa and the Pāṇḍavas.

la, Nami of Videha, "Naggati" of Gandhāra, and "Karakāṇḍu" of Kalinga, and says that "these bulls of kings have adopted the faith of the Jainas." (SBE. XLV. 87). As Pārśva (777 B.C.) was the first historical Jina, Naggati or Naguajit is probably to be placed between 777 B.C. and 548 B.C. (the date of Pukkusāti the Gandhārian contemporary of Bimbisāra). We do not, however, say that implicit reliance can be placed on a statement of the Uttarādhyayana.

Nagnajit was succeeded by his son Svarjit (Sat. Br., VIII. 1. 4. 10). In the middle of the sixth century B.C., the throne of Gandhāra was occupied by Pukkusāti who is said to have sent an embassy and a letter to king Bimbisāra of Magadha, and waged war on Pradyota of Avanti who was defeated (Essay on Gunādhya, p. 176). He is also said to have been threatened in his own kingdom by the Pāṇḍavas (who occupied a part of the Pañjāb as late as the time of Ptolemy). In the latter half of the sixth century Gandhāra was conquered by the king of Persia. In the Behistun inscription of Darius, cir. 516 B.C., the Gandhārians (Gadara) appear among the subject peoples of the Achaemenidan Empire.<sup>1</sup>

**Kamboja** is constantly associated with Gandhāra in literature and inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> Like Gandhāra it is included in the Uttarāpatha (*cf.* Mbh. XII. 207. 43). It should, therefore, be clearly distinguished from "Kamvuja" in the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula (*i.e.* Cambodia), and must be located in some part of North-west India not far from Gandhāra. We learn from a passage of the Mahābhārata that a place called Rājapura was the home of the Kambojas (Mbh., VII. 4. 5, "Karna Rājapuram gatvā

<sup>1</sup> See "Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the Achaemenidans Inscriptions" by Herbert Chisholm Tolman, Vanderbilt Oriental Series, Vol. VI.

<sup>2</sup> Mbh. XII. 207. 43; Aśvattera N. I. 213; 4. 252, 256, 260; Rock Edict V of Aśoka.

Kāmbojā nirjītā stvayā<sup>1</sup>). The association of the Kāmbojas with the Gāndhāras enables us to identify this Rājpura with the Rājpura of Hiuen Tsang<sup>2</sup> which lay to the south or south-east of Panch. The western boundaries of Kamboja must have reached Kāfristan, and there are still in that district tribes like the 'Caumojes,' 'Camoze,' and 'Camoje' whose names remind us of the Kāmbojas.<sup>3</sup>

Kamboja may have been a home of Brāhmaṇic learning in the later Vedic period. The Vānsa Brāhmaṇa actually mentions a teacher named Kamboja Aupamanyava. But already in the time of Yāska the Kambojas had come to be regarded as a people distinct from the Aryans of the interior of India, speaking a different dialect. We have further changes in later ages. And in the Bhūridatta Jātaka (No. 543) the Kambojas are credited with savage (Non-Aryan) customs:

ete bi dhamma anariyarūpā  
Kambojakanam vitathā bahunnam ti.

(Jātaka, VI, 208.)

These are your savage customs which I hate,  
Such as Kamboja hordes might emulate.

(Cowell's Jātaka, VI, 110.)

This description of the Kāmbojas agrees wonderfully with Hiuen Tsang's account of Rājpura and the adjoining countries. "From Lampa to Rājpura the inhabitants are coarse and plain in personal appearance, of rude violent dispositions...they do not belong to India proper but are inferior peoples of frontier (*i.e.*, barbarian) stocks."

<sup>1</sup> Wattier, Yen Chwang, Vol. I, p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> Elphinstone, An Account of the Kingdom of Kabul, Vol. II, pp. 375-377.

We have seen that the metropolis of the Kambojas in the Epic period was probably Rājapura. Dvāraka mentioned by Rhys Davids as the capital in the early Buddhist period, was not really a city of Kamboja<sup>1</sup> though it happens to be mentioned in a story which also refers to Kamboja. A real city of the Kambojas was apparently Nandinagar mentioned in Lüders' Inscriptions 176 and 472.

The Vedic texts do not mention any king of Kamboja. But, as already pointed out, they refer to a teacher named Kamboja Upamanyava who was probably connected with this territory. In the Mahabharata the Kambojas are represented as living under a monarchial constitution (*cf.* I. 87. 32; II. 4. 22; V. 165. 1-3, etc.). The Epic makes mention of the Kamboja Kings Chandravarman and Sudakshīṇa. In later times the monarchy gave place to a Saṅgha form of government. Kauṭilya (p. 378) mentions the Kambojas as an illustration of a "Vārtāśastro-pajivin" Saṅgha.

#### THE EPIC ACCOUNT OF THE MAHĀJANAPADAS.

An interesting account of the characteristics of the peoples of most of the Mahajanapadas described above is to be found in the Karna Parva of the Mahabharata.

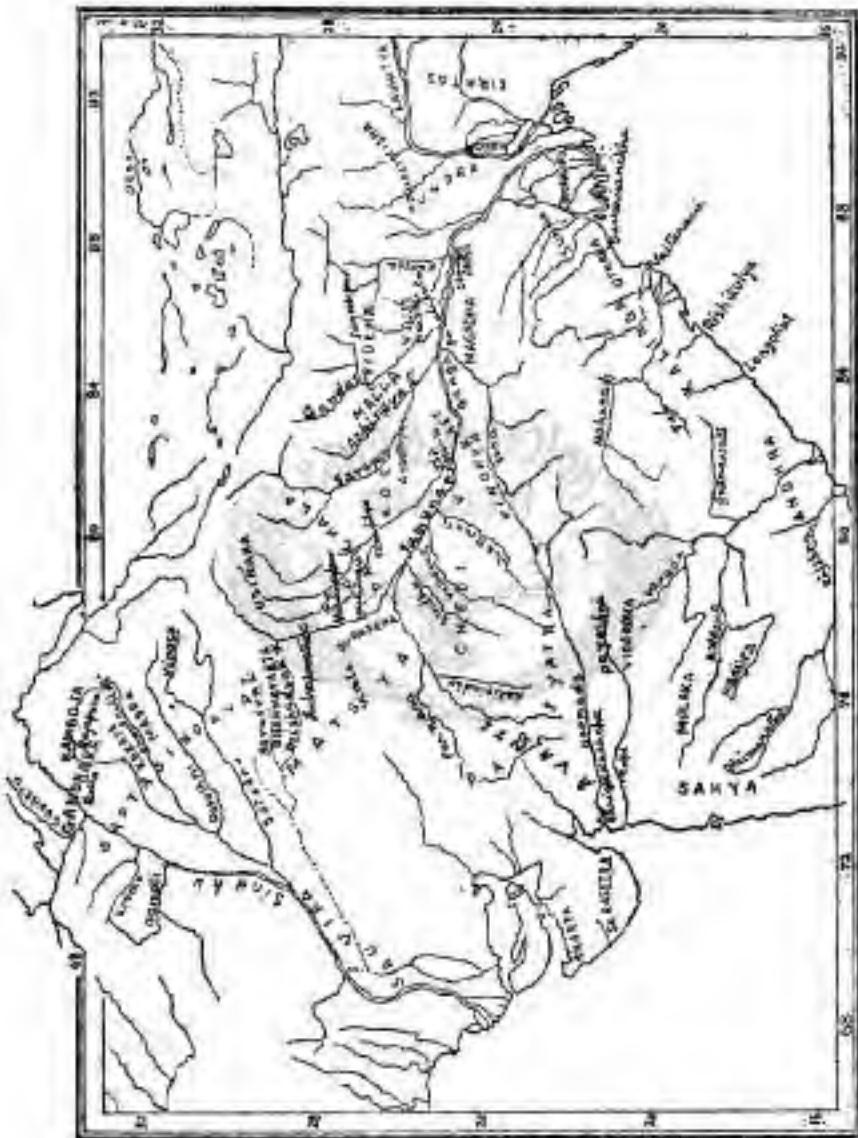
The Pañchālas, Kurus, Matsyas, Sūrasenas and the Chedis receive unstinted praise :

Kuravaḥ saha Pañchālaḥ Śalvā Matsyāḥ sa Naimishāḥ  
Chedayaścha mahābhāgā dharmāṁ jñānāti sāśvatam  
Brāhmaṇa Pañchālaḥ Kauraveyāstu dharmām  
Satyāḥ Matsyāḥ Sūrasenaścha yajñām

"The Kauravas with the Pañchālas, the Śalvas, the Matsyas, the Naimishas and the Chedis who are all highly blessed, know what the eternal religion is.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Law "The Buddhist Conception of Spirits," pp. 80-63.

THE MAHĀJANAPADAS OF ANCIENT INDIA.



Specially prepared for Dr. H. C. Ray Choudhury's Political History of Ancient India.

The Pañcālas observe the Vedas, the Kauravas observe Dharma, the Matsyas observe the truth, and the Sūrasenas perform sacrifices."<sup>1</sup>

The Magadhas are called comprehenders of signs; while the Kosalas are represented as comprehending from what they see:

*Iigitajñāścha Magadhāḥ prekshitajñāścha Kośalāḥ.*<sup>2</sup>

The Aṅgas and the Gandhāras come in for a good deal of condemnation:

*Āturāṇām parityāga sadāra-suta-vikrayāḥ  
Aṅgeshu vartate Karo yeshām adhipatir bhavān.*

"The abandonment of the afflicted and the sale of wives and children are, O Karna, prevalent among the Aṅgas whose king thou art."<sup>3</sup>

*Madrakeshu cha saṁspiṣṭān śauchān Gāndhāra-  
keshucha  
Rāja-yājaka-yājyecha naśtaṇā dattān havir bhavet.*

"Amongst the Madrakas all acts of friendship are lost as purity among the Gāndhārakas, and the libations poured in a sacrifice in which the king is himself the sacrificer and priest."<sup>4</sup>

The verses quoted above give a fair idea of the attitude of a poet of the western part of the Madhyadeśa towards most of the Mahājanapadas of Northern India.

#### THE FALL OF KĀSI AND THE ASCENDANCY OF KOŚALA.

The flourishing period of many of the sixteen Mahājanapadas ended in or about the sixth century B.C. The

<sup>1</sup> *Mahābhārata*, VIII, 45, 14-16, 28; 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 45, 40; 40, 26.

history of the succeeding period is the story of the absorption of the states into a number of powerful kingdoms, and ultimately into one empire, namely, the empire of Magadha.

Kāsi was probably the first to fall. The Mahāvagga and the Jātakas refer to bitter struggles between Kāsi and her neighbours, specially Kosala. The facts of the struggle are obscure, being wrapped up in legendary matter from which it is impossible to disentangle them. The Kāsīs seem to have been successful at first, but the Kosalas were the gainers in the end.

In the Mahāvagga (SBE, XVII. 294-95) and the Kosambi Jātaka (No. 428) it is stated that Brahmadatta, king of Kāsi, robbed Dighati, king of Kosala, of his kingdom, and put him to death. In the Kunala Jātaka (No. 536) it is stated that Brahmadatta, king of Kāsi, owing to his having an army, seized on the kingdom of Kosala, slew its king, and carried off his chief queen to Benares, and there made her his consort. The Brahmačatta Jātaka (No. 336) and the Sona-Nanda Jātaka (No. 532) also refer to the victories of Kāsi kings over Kosala.

Success however did not remain long with the Kāsīs (*cf.* Jātaka No. 100). In the Mahāsilava Jātaka (No. 51) king Mahāsilava of Kāsi is said to have been deprived of his realm by the king of Kosala. In the Ghata Jātaka (No. 355) and the Ekarāja Jātaka (No. 303), Vānka and Dabbasena, kings of Kosala, are said to have won for their kingdom a decided preponderance over Kāsi. The final conquest of the latter kingdom was probably the work of Kaṁsa, as the epithet "Bārānasiggaho," *i.e.*, conqueror of Benares, is a standing addition to his name.<sup>4</sup> The interval of time between Kaṁsa's conquest of Kāsi and

<sup>4</sup> The Seyya Jātaka, No. 222, and the Terakuṇa Jātaka, No. 521; Buddhist India, p. 25.

the rise of Buddhism could not have been very long because the memory of Kāsi as an independent kingdom was still fresh in the minds of the people in Buddha's time, and even later when the Ānguttara Nikāya was composed.

In the time of Mahākosala (sixth century B. C.) Kāsi formed an integral part of the Kosalan monarchy. When Mahākosala married his daughter, the lady Kosaladevi, to king Bimbisāra of Magadha, he gave a village of Kāsi producing a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money.<sup>1</sup>

In the time of Mahākosala's son and successor Pasenadi or Prasenajit, Kāsi still formed a part of the Kosalan empire. In the Lohichcha Sutta<sup>2</sup> Buddha asks a person named Lohichcha the following questions: "Now what think you Lohichcha? Is not king Pasenadi of Kosala in possession of Kāsi and Kosala?" Lohichcha replies, "Yes, that is so Gotama." We learn from the Mahāvagga (SBE, XVII. 195) that the Viceroy of Kāsi was a brother of Pasenadi.

The Samyukta Nikāya<sup>3</sup> mentions Pasenadi as the head of a group of five Rājas. One of these was probably his brother who was the Viceroy of Kāsi. Among the remaining Rājas we should perhaps include Prince Pāyāsi of Setavyā mentioned in the Pāyāsi Suttanta, and Hiranyanābha Kausalya who, as we have seen, was a contemporary of Sukeśa Bhāradvaja and Āśvalayana, and consequently of Buddha and Pasenadi, if our identification of Āśvalayana Kausalya with Assalayana of Sāvatthi mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya be correct.

Another Rāja of the group was probably the Sākyā chief of Kapilavastu. From the introductory portion

<sup>1</sup> Harita Mūla Jātaka, No. 229; Vajjhali Sākāra Jātaka, No. 288.

<sup>2</sup> Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, 288-97.

<sup>3</sup> The Book of the Kindred Sayings, translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids, p. 105.

of the Bhaddasāla Jātaka (No. 465) we learn that the Śākya territory was subordinate to the Kosalan monarch. The inclusion of the Śākya territory, the birthplace of Buddha, within the Kosalan empire is also proved by the Sutta Nipāta<sup>1</sup> and the Majjhima Nikāya<sup>2</sup> which describe Buddha and his people as Kosalans.

It was probably during the reign of Mahakosala, that Bimbisāra ascended the throne of Magadha. The Mahāvamsa<sup>3</sup> tells us that "The virtuous Bimbisāra was fifteen years old when he was anointed king by his own father." With the coronation of Bimbisāra ends the period with which this chapter deals.

#### KINGSHIP.

We have given the outlines of the political history of India from the accession of Parikshit to the coronation of Bimbisāra. We have seen that during the major part of this period the prevailing form of Government was monarchical. No political history of this age is complete unless we know something about the rank, power and status of the monarchs in the different parts of India, their casta, the methods of their selection and consecration, the chief members of their households, and their civil and military services, and the checks on their authority.

The different kinds of rulership prevalent in different parts of India are thus described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,<sup>4</sup>

Etasyām Prāchyām diśi ye ke cha Prāchyānām rājānah  
Sāmrājyāyaiva te'bhisibhyante Samrāl-ityenāu-  
abhisiktān-āchakshata etāmeva Devānām vihitī-  
manu.

<sup>1</sup> SSE, X, Part II, pp. 38-49.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. II, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> Gildar's Translation, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> VIII, 14.

Etasyām Dakshīṇasyām diśi ye ke cha Satvatām Rājāno Bhaujyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Bhojetyenān-abhishiktān-āchakshata etāmeva Devānām vihitimanu.

Etasyām Pratīchyām diśi ye ke cha Niḥsyānām Rājāno ye'pachyānām Svārājyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Svarāl-ityenān-abhishiktān-āchakshata etāmeva Devānām vihitimanu.

Etasyām Udīchyām diśi ye ke eba pareṇa Himavantām Janapadā Uttara Kurava Uttara Madrā iti Vairājyāyaiva te' bhishichyante Viral-ityenān-abhishiktān-āchakshata etāmeva Devānām vihitimanu.

Etasyām dhruvāyām Madhyamāyām pratishṭhāyām diśi ye ke cha Kuru Pañchālānām Rājanah sa Vaśośinānām Rājyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Rājetyenān-abhishiktān-āchakshata etāmeva Devānām vihitimanu.

Several scholars assert that Vairājya means a kingless state. But in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1</sup> a king consecrated with Indra's great unction is called Virāt and worthy of Vairājya. When a king consecrated with the Punarabhisheka ascends his Āsandī or throne, he prays for attaining Vairājya as well as other kinds of royal dignity. Sāyaṇa takes the word Vairājyām to mean "itarebhyo bhupatibhyo vāsiṣṭhyam."<sup>2</sup> It is also stated in the Śakranīti<sup>3</sup> that the Virāt was a superior kind of monarch. In the Mahābhārata (XII, 43, 11) Krishṇa is called Samrāt, Virāt, Svarāt and Surarāja.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Keith translates the

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 17.

<sup>2</sup> B. E. Sarkar's translation, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. XII, 68, 64.

passage "Etasyām Udichyām," etc., thus: "In this northern quarter, the lands of the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras, beyond the Himavant, their (kings) are anointed for sovereignty; 'O sovereign' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods."

It is not easy to decide whether all the terms Sāmrājya, Bhanjya, Svārājya, Vairājya and Rājya referred to essentially different forms of royal authority in the Brāhmaṇic period. But two terms at least, namely, Sāmrājya and Rājya are clearly distinguished by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>1</sup> and also the Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.<sup>2</sup>

Rājā vai Rājasūyeneshṭvā bhavati, Samrāj Vajapeyenāvaraṇhi Rājyam param Sāmrājyam kāmayeta vai Rāja Samrāj bhavitum avaraṇhi rājyam param Samrājyath.<sup>3</sup>

"By offering the Rājastya he becomes Rāja and by the Vajapeya he becomes Samrāj; and the office of Rājan is the lower and that of Samrāj the higher; a Rājan might indeed wish to become Samrāj, for the office of Rājan is the lower and that of Samrāj the higher; but the Samrāj would not wish to become a Rājā for the office of Rājan is the lower, and that of Samrāj the higher."

If the Purāṇas are to be believed Bhoja was originally a proper name. But afterwards it came to denote a class of Southern kings. The word Cæsar furnishes an exact parallel. Originally it was the name of a Roman dictator. But afterwards it was a title assumed by Roman Emperors.

In some Vedic texts<sup>4</sup> Svārājya means uncontrolled dominion, and is opposed to Rājya.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. 1, 1. 18.

<sup>2</sup> XV. 1. 1. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Sat. Br. V. 1. 1. 1a.

<sup>4</sup> Kāphala Saṃhitā, XIV. 5; Maitrīśyāṇi Saṃhitā, I. 11. 5, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Vedic Index, II, 221.

The king was usually, though not always, a Kshatriya. The Brāhmaṇas were considered to be unsuited for kingship. Thus we read in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa "to the king (Rājan) doubtless belongs the Rājasūya; for by offering the Rājasūya he becomes king, and unsuited for kingship is the Brāhmaṇa."<sup>1</sup>

We have, however, references to Śūdra and Ayogava kings in the Vedic texts. King Janaśruti Pautrāyaṇa is called a Śūdra in the Chāndogya Upanishad.<sup>2</sup> King Marutta Avikṣita is styled "Ayogava" in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.<sup>3</sup> Ayogava denotes a member of a mixed caste, a descendant of a Śūdra by a Vaṇīya wife.<sup>4</sup> The Jātakas refer to kings of several castes including Brāhmaṇas (*cf.* Jātakas 73, 432).

Kingship was sometimes hereditary, as is indeed shown by several cases where the descent can be traced (*cf.* the Pārikshitas and the kings of Janaka's line; *cf.* also the expression Daśapurushamṛajya—a kingdom of ten generations occurring in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa XII. 9. 3. 8), yet in others the monarchy was elective. The selection was made sometimes by the people and sometimes by the ministers. The choice was sometimes limited to the members of the royal family only, as is shown by the legend in Yāska<sup>5</sup> of the Kuru brothers Devāpi and Saṃtanu. In the Samvara Jātaka (No. 462) the courtiers of a king asked the latter "when you are dead, my lord, to whom shall we give the white umbrella?" "Friends," said the king, "all my sons have a right to the white umbrella. But you may give it to him that pleases your mind."

<sup>1</sup> SBE, XL1; Eggeling, Sat. Br., Part II, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> IV. 2. 3. 5.

<sup>3</sup> XIII. 6. 4. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Manusmṛiti, X. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Nirukta, II. 10. Ved. Ind. II, 211.

Sometimes the popular choice fell on persons who did not belong to the royal family. It is stated in the Pādañjali Jātaka, No. 247, that when a certain king of Benares died, his son Pādañjali by name, an idle lazy loafer, was set aside, and the minister in charge of things spiritual and temporal was raised to the throne. The Sachchankira Jātaka, No. 73, tells a story how the nobles, Brāhmaṇas and all classes slew their king and anointed a private citizen. Sometimes an outsider was chosen. The Darimukha Jātaka (No. 878), the Dasanānaka Jātaka (401) and the Sonaka Jātaka (No. 529) tell us how on failure of heir at Benares a prince of Magadha was elected king.

The king during the Brāhmaṇa period was usually allowed to have four queens, viz., the Mahishi, the Parivrikta, the Vavata, and the Pālāgali. The Mahishi was the chief wife, being the first one married according to the Sātpatha Brāhmaṇa.<sup>1</sup> The Parivrikta was the neglected wife, probably one that had no son. The Vavata is the favourite, while the Pālāgali was the daughter of the last of the court officials.<sup>2</sup> The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 13), however, refers to the "hundred" wives of king Hariśchandra. In the Jātaka period several kings kept a bigger harem. We are told in the Kusa Jātaka, No. 531, that king Okkako had sixteen thousand wives among whom Silavati was the chief (aggamahesi). The king of Benares according to the Dasaratha Jātaka, No. 461, had an equal number of wives. In the Suruchi Jātaka, No. 489, a king of Mithila says, "Ours is a great kingdom, the city of Mithila covers seven leagues, the measure of the whole kingdom is 300 leagues. Such a king should have sixteen thousand women at the least." Sixteen thousand appears to have been a stock phrase. The number is

<sup>1</sup> VI. 5. 3. 1; *Ved. Ind.*, I. 478.

<sup>2</sup> Weber and Fischer in *Vedic Index*, I. 478.

evidently exaggerated. But it indicates that the kings of the Jātaka period were extreme polygamists who frequently exceeded the Brāhmaṇic number of four or even a hundred queens.

The king was consecrated after his succession or election with an elaborate ritual which is described in several Brāhmaṇas, and for which the Mantras are given in the Samhitās. Those who aided in the consecration of the king were called Rājakartṛ, or Rājakrit, i.e., "kingmaker." In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa the persons meant and specified are the Sūta (minstrel and chronicler or charioteer), and the Grāmāṇī, village chief. Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji observes,<sup>1</sup> "It is apparent from the lists of persons aiding in the royal coronation that both official and non-official or popular elements were represented in the function." The principal ceremonies or sacrifices of royal inauguration were the Vājapeya, the Rājasūya, the Punarabhisheka and the Aindra Mahābhiseka.

The Vājapeya bestowed on the performer a superior kind of kingship called "Sāmrājya," while the Rājasūya merely conferred the ordinary royal dignity.<sup>2</sup> The Punarabhisheka made the king elect eligible for all sorts of royal dignity, viz., Rajya, Sāmrājya, Bhaujya, Svārājya, Vairājya, Pārameshṭhya, Maharajya, Ādhipatya, Svāvaśya and Ātishthatva.<sup>3</sup> The object of the Aindra Mahābhiseka is thus described :

"Sa ya ichchhedevamvit Kshatriyamayam sarvā jitirjayetāyah sarvāñilokān vindetāyah sarvesham Rājñām Sraishṭyam Atishthatām Paramatāp gachchhetā Samrājyah, Bhaujyah, Svārājyah, Vairājyah, Pārameshṭhyah, Rājyah, Maharajyah Ādhipat�am ayah samanta-

<sup>1</sup> The Fundamental Unity of India, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Rājya, cf. Sat. Br., V, I, 1, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Ait. Br. VIII, 6.

paryāyi syat Sārvabhaumah̄ sarvayusha a'ntada parāddhat  
 Prithivyai Samudraparyantaya Ekarāl iti tametena  
 Aindrena Mahabhishekēka kshatriyam āpayitvā bhishin-  
 ched."<sup>1</sup>

"If he who knows thus should desire of a kshatriya,  
 'May he win all victories, find all the worlds, attain the  
 superiority, pre-eminence and supremacy over all kings  
 and overlordship, paramount rule, self-rule, sovereignty,  
 supreme authority, kingship, great kingship and  
 suzerainty, may he be all encompassing, possessed of all  
 the earth, possessed of all life, from the one end up to  
 the further side of the earth bounded by the ocean,  
 sole ruler'; he should anoint him with the great anointing  
 of Indra, after adjuring him"<sup>2</sup> (Keith).

The Vajapeya rites include a race of 17 chariots, in which the sacrificer is allowed to carry off the palm, and from which, according to Eggeling, the ceremony perhaps derives its name. Professor Hillebrandt would claim for this feature of the sacrifice the character of a relic of an old national festival, a kind of Indian Olympic games. After the chariot race the next interesting item is the mounting of a chariot wheel, which is placed on the top of a long pole, by the sacrificer and his wife, from which homage is made to the mother earth. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa says, "Truly he who gains a seat in the air gains a seat above others."<sup>3</sup> The royal sacrificer having descended from the pole, is offered a throne-seat with a goatskin spread thereon and addressed by the Adhvaryu in the following words : "Thou art the ruler, the ruling lord—thou art firm and steadfast—(here I seat) thee for the tilling, for peaceful dwelling, for wealth, for prosperity, i.e., for the welfare of the people, the common weal."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ait. Br., VIII, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Sat. Br., V, 2, 1, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Sat. Br., V, 2, 1, 23; The Fundamental Unity of India, p. 80.

The Rajasuya consisted of a long succession of sacrificial performances which began on the 1st of Falguna<sup>1</sup> and spread over a period of upwards of two years.<sup>2</sup> The rite is described at great length in the Satapatha Brähmaṇa.<sup>3</sup> Besides much mere priestly elaboration, the ritual contains traces of popular ceremonial.<sup>4</sup> The popular features are chiefly these :—

- (1) The Ratnīśām havīshī or offerings to the chief queen and court officials;
- (2) The Dig Vyāsthāpana or the king's mounting on the quarters as an indication of his universal rule;
- (3) a mimic cow raid against a relative;<sup>5</sup> or a show fight with a Rajanya.<sup>6</sup>
- (4) A game of dice in which the king is made to be the victim;
- (5) Stepping on a tiger skin, thus gaining the strength and the pre-eminence of the tiger.
- (6) The Abhishechaniya or besprinkling and
- (7) Narration of the Ākhyāna of Śunahsepa.

The recipients of the "Ratnīśām havīshī" were the Ratnins i.e. the chief members of the royal household and of the king's civil and military service : viz.—

1. The Senāṇī (Commander-in-chief).
2. The Purohita (Royal Chaplain).
3. The Mahishi (Chief Queen).
4. The Sūta (Charioteer).<sup>7</sup>
5. The Grāmanī (Village Headman).

<sup>1</sup> Keith, Black Yajus pp. cxii-cxiii.

<sup>2</sup> SBE. XLII, p. xxvi.

<sup>3</sup> V. 2. 8 (cf seq.).

<sup>4</sup> Vad. Ind., II. 219.

<sup>5</sup> Sat. Br. V. 4. 3. 1 cf seq.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Taittirīya Samhitā, I. 8. 16 with commentary ; SBE. XLII, 100, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> The importance of this office is shown by the cases of Sumantra and Sallaya who is called a Mahāsūta (Mñh. XV. 16, 4).

6. The Kshattṛī (Chamberlain)—forerunner of the Antarvarṣika of later times.<sup>1</sup>
7. The Saṅgrahitṛī (Treasurer)—forerunner of the Sañnidhātṛī.
8. The Bhāgadugha (Collector-General)—forerunner of the Saṁhārtṛī.
9. The Akṣhāvāpa (Keeper of the Dice).<sup>2</sup>
10. The Go-vikartana (King's Companion in the chase).
11. The Pālāgala (Courier)—forerunner of the Dūta (Śāsanahara, etc.).

The most essential part of the Rājastūya was the **Abhisheka** or besprinkling. It began with offerings to Savitā Satyaprasava, Agni Grihapati, Soma Vanaspati, Brihaspati Vāk, Indra Jyeshṭha, Rudra Paśupati, Mitra Satya and Varuna Dharmapati. The consecration water (*Abhishechaniyā Āpah*) was made up of seventeen kinds including the water of the Sarasvatī, sea-water, and water from a whirlpool, a pond, a well and dew. The sprinkling was performed by a Brāhmaṇa, a kinsman or brother of the king elect, a friendly Rājanya and a Vaiśya.

The two most important kinds of Abhisheka were the *Punarabhisheka* and the *Aindra Mahāabhisheka*.

The *Punarabhisheka* or Renewed Anointment is described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 5-11. It was intended for Kshatriya conquering monarchs. The first interesting part of the ceremony was the king's ascent to the throne or Āsandi which was made of Udumbara wood with the exception of the interwoven part (*Vivayana*) which consisted of Muñja grass. Then came the besprinkling. Among other things the priest said

<sup>1</sup> Vidura was the Kshattṛī (Mbh. I. 200. 17, II. 60, 1, etc.) at the Kurus Court.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the position of Kaṭṭaka (Tudhaliṣṭha) at the Matsya Court.

"Rājñān tvam Adhirśjo bhaveha ; Mahāntarām tvā mahinām  
Samrājan charshaṇīnām."<sup>1</sup> The king was next required to  
get down from the throne and make obeisance to the  
Brahmanas : "Brāhmaṇa eva tat Kshatram vaśam eti tad  
yatra vai Brahmanāḥ Kshatram vaśam eti tad rāshṭram  
samriddham tadviravatā hāsmīn viro jāyate."<sup>2</sup> Here  
there is ample provision for the prevention of royal  
absolutism.

Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, was evidently  
consecrated with the Punarabhisheka.<sup>3</sup>

The **Aindra Mahabhisheka** or Indra's great unction  
consisted of five important ceremonies, *viz.* :—

1. Oath taken by the king to the priest : "From the  
night of my birth to that of my death, for the space  
between these two, my sacrifice and my gifts, my place,  
my good deeds, my life and mine offspring mayest thou  
take, if I play thee false" (Keith).
2. Ārohana (Ascending the throne).
3. Utkroṣṇa (Proclamation).
4. Abhimantraya (repetition of special formulas or  
Mantras).
5. Anointing.

The following kings are said to have been consecrated  
with the Aindra Mahabhisheka : Janamejaya, Śāryāta,  
Satānika, Āmbāshṭhya, Yudhāṁśraushṭi, Viśvakarmā,  
Sudās, Magutta, Āṅga and Bharata.<sup>4</sup> The first-mentioned  
king, and probably the third, fourth, fifth and ninth also,  
belonged to the post-Parikshit period.<sup>5</sup>

Powerful kings and princes performed another

<sup>1</sup> Ait. Br. VIII. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ait. Br. VIII. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ait. Br. VIII. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Ait. Br. VIII. 21-23.

<sup>5</sup> Satānika defeated Dhṛitarāshṭra of Kāli who, according to the *Mahābhārata*,  
was a contemporary of Sathabhu of Kalīga and Brahmadatta of Assaka.  
As the Deccan kingdoms are not referred to in pre-Parikshit works, it is probable

important sacrifice called the *Asvamedha*. The Āpastamana Śrauta Sūtra (XX. i. 1) says that a Sārvabhauma Rājā may perform the *Āśvamedha*. The Asva or steed for a year roamed under guardianship of a hundred princes, a hundred nobles, a hundred sons of heralds and chario-teers and a hundred sons of attendants. If the year were successfully passed the steed was sacrificed. The features of the rite included the panegyric of the king by a Kshatriya and a Brāhmaṇa lute-player, and a cyclic Ākhyāna.<sup>1</sup> Among the kings and princes who performed the *Āśvamedha* were Janamejaya, his brothers Bhimasena, Ugrasena, and Śrutasena, and Para Ātīṣṭha, king of Kōsala.

Kingship during the Pārikshita-Janaka period was not merely a "Patriarchal Presidency." The monarch was not merely a "chief noble," "the first among equals," "President of a Council of Peers." In several Vedic texts he is represented as the master of his people. He claimed the power of giving his kingdom away to anybody he liked, and taxing the people as much as he liked. In the Brīhadāraṇyaka Upanishad Janaka says to Yājñavalkya, "So'hamp Bhagavate Videhān dadāmi māñchāpi saha dasyayeti" (Brīh. Up., IV. 4. 23). The king is called "Viśvasya bhūtasya adhipati" and is further described as the devourer of the people—Viśemattā (Ait. Br. VIII, 17). "Rājā ta ekām mukham tena mukhena Viśo'tsi" (Kaush. Up., II. 6).

The king, however, was not an absolute despot in practice. His power was checked, in the first place, by the Brāhmaṇas. We have seen that the most powerful sovereigns, even those who were consecrated with the

that Śatruṅga and his contemporaries flourished after Pārikshit. Ambāśāḥṭya and Tundibhūravashī were contemporaries of Parvata and Nārada who were very near in time to Nagajit the contemporary of Nimi, probably the penultimate king of Tikkha. Anga was probably the immediate predecessor of Dadhivikrama who according to Jain evidence, flourished in the 6th century B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Keith, Black Yajus, pp. cxixii f.

Punarabhisheka, had to descend from the throne and make obeisance to the Brāhmaṇas who formed the higher educated community of those days. We learn from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 27) and Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra<sup>1</sup> that even a powerful king like Janamejaya was humbled by the Brāhmaṇas. The Vṛishṇis perished on account of their irreverent conduct towards Brāhmaṇas. This shows that not only the kings, but the republican corporations (Saṅgha), too, had to cultivate friendly relations with the Brāhmaṇas.

The second check was supplied by the ministers and village headmen who aided in the consecration of the king and whom the king consulted regularly. In the Vedic texts the Sūti and the Grāmāṇī are styled Rājakartṛ or Rājakṛpit, i.e., "King-maker."<sup>2</sup> The very title indicates their importance in the body politic. They, as well as the other *rātsins*, figure prominently in the sacrifice of royal inauguration.

The claim of the ministers and village headmen to be consulted was certainly recognised by the kings down to the time of Bimbisāra. The Mahāvagga says,<sup>3</sup> "King Brahmadatta of Kāsi, O Bhikkhus, having entered Benares, convoked his ministers and counsellors (Amaces Pārisajje sannipātā petvā) and said to them : 'If you should see, my good sirs, young Dighāvū, the son of king Dighiti of Kosala, what would you do to him?'" The Mahāassāroha Jātaka (No. 302) refers to a king who by beat of drum through the city gathered together his councillors. In the Mahāvagga we find the following passage;<sup>4</sup> "Now when Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, was holding an assembly of the eighty thousand Grāmikas he sent message to Sona Kolivisa." The Chulla-Sutasoma Jātaka also refers to the eighty thousand councillors of a

<sup>1</sup> ED. 1919, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> SBE, XVII, 204.

<sup>3</sup> Sut. Br. III, 4. 1. 7; XII 2. 2. 18.

<sup>4</sup> SBE, XVII, p. 1.

king headed by his general. These were asked to elect a king.<sup>1</sup> The king-making power of the councillors is recognised also in the Pādanjali and Sonaka Jātakas.

Another check was supplied by the general body of the people (Janāḥ) who were distinct from the ministers and Grāmaṇis or Grāmikas, and who used to meet in an assembly styled Samiti or Parishad in the Upanishads. In the Utkroṣṇa passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 17) the people (Janāḥ) are clearly distinguished from the Rajakartārah among whom, according to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>2</sup> were included the Sūta and the Grāmaṇi. That the Samiti or Parishad was an assembly of the Janāḥ, i.e., the whole people, is apparent from such expressions as "Pañchālānāḥ Samitīm eyīya," "Pañchālānāḥ Parishadām ajagāma." The Chhāndogya Upanishad (V. 3. 1) mentions the Samiti of the Pañchāla people presided over by king Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, "Svetaketur hāruṇeyah Pañchālānām Samitīm eyaya ; tam ha Pravāhaṇo Jaivalir uvācha." The Brāhmaṇdaranyaka Upanishad (VI. 2. 1) uses the term Parishad instead of Samiti "Svetaketur hayā Āruṇeyah Pañchālānām Parishadām ajagāma." The analogy of the Lichchhavi Parishā mentioned in Buddhist works shows that the functions of the Pañchāla Parishad were not necessarily confined to philosophical discussions only. The people took part in the ceremony of royal inauguration (Ait. Br. VIII. 17). The Dummedha Jātaka (No. 50) refers to a joint assembly of ministers, Brāhmaṇas, the gentry, and the other orders of the people.

That the people actually put a curb on royal absolutism is proved by the testimony of the Atharva Veda (VI. 88. 3) where it is stated that concord between king and assembly was essential for the former's prosperity.

<sup>1</sup> Cowell's Jātakas, V, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> III. 4. 1. 7; XIII. 2. 2. 18.

We have evidence that the people sometimes expelled and even executed their princes together with unpopular officials. Thus it is stated in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*,<sup>1</sup> "Now Dushtarita Paurṇayana had been expelled from the kingdom which had come to him through ten generations, and the Sriñjayas also expelled Revottaras Paṭava Chakra Sthapati."<sup>2</sup> The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 10) refers to personages who were expelled from their rāshṭras and who were anxious to recover them with the help of the Kshatriya consecrated with the *Punarabbisheka*. Such persons were the Indian counterparts of the French "emigrants" who sought to reclaim revolutionary France with the help of the troops of the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns.<sup>3</sup> We learn from the *Vessantara Jātaka* that the king of Sivi was compelled to banish prince Vessantara in obedience to "the people's sentence."

The king was told :

The bidding of the Sivi folk if you refuse to do  
The people then will act, methinks, against your son  
and you.

The king replied :

Behold the people's will, and I that will do not gainsay.

The *Padakusalamāṇava Jātaka* (No. 432) tells a story how the town and the countryfolk of a kingdom assembled, beat the king and priest to death as they were guilty of theft, and anointed a good man king. A similar story is told in the *Sachchamkira Jātaka* (No. 73). We are told in the *Khandahāla Jātaka* that the people of one kingdom killed the minister, deposed the king, made him an outcast and anointed a prince as king. The

<sup>1</sup> XII. 8. 3. 1 et seq.; Eggeling, V. 202.

<sup>2</sup> For the designation "Sthapati," see Oamb. Hist. Ind., 121; Fleet, CII, 120a.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lodge, Modern Europe, p. 217.

ex-king was not allowed to enter into the capital city. Prof. Bhandarkar points out that in the Telapatta Jātaka a king of Takṣaśilā says that he has no power over the subjects of his kingdom. This is in striking contrast with the utterance of Janaka quoted above ("Bhagavate Videhan dadāmi," etc.). Evidently the royal power had declined appreciably, at least in the north-west, since the days of Janaka.

The more important attributes of kingship are referred to in the "Utkroṣṇa" passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 17). The monarch is there described as "Viśvasya bhūtasya adhipati," i.e., sovereign lord of all beings, "Viśāmattā," i.e., devourer of the people, "Amitrāgām hantā," i.e., destroyer of enemies, "Brāhmaṇānām goptā," i.e., protector of the Brāhmaṇas, and "Dharmasya goptā," i.e., protector of the laws.

In the expressions quoted above we have reference to the king's sovereignty and imperium, his power of taxation, his military functions, his relations with the hierarchy, and his judicial duties.

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# Political History of Ancient India

## PART II

### From the Coronation of Bimbisāra to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty.

The following pages deal with the political history of India from the time of Bimbisāra to that of the Guptas.

For the period from Bimbisāra to Aśoka I cannot claim much originality. The subject has been treated by Professor Rhys Davids and Dr. Smith, and a flood of new light has been thrown on the history of particular dynasties by Professors Geiger, Bhandarkar, Rapson, Jayaswal, Hultzsch and others. I have made use of the information contained in their works, and have supplemented it with fresh data gathered mainly from epical and Jaina sources. I have also tried to present old materials in a new shape, and my conclusions are not often different from those of former writers.

In the chapter on the Later Mauryas I have examined the causes of the dismemberment of the Maurya Empire, and have tried to demonstrate the unsoundness of the current theory that "the fall of the Maurya authority was due in large measure to a reaction promoted by the Brahmans."<sup>1</sup>

My treatment of the history of the Early Post-Mauryan and Scythian periods, though not entirely original, is different in many respects from that of previous authors. I have not been able to accept the current views with regard to the history and chronology of several dynasties, notably of the Early Śatavāhanas, the Greeks of Sakala, and the Śaka-Pahlavas of the Uttarapatha.

<sup>1</sup> The chapter on the Later Mauryas was published in the JASB., 1920.

In my account of the Gupta period I have made use of the mass of fresh materials accumulated since the publication of the works of Fleet, Smith and Allan. The relations of Samudra Gupta with the Vākāṭakas have been discussed, and an attempt has been made to present a connected history of the later Guptas.<sup>1</sup>

### THE RISE OF MAGADHA

#### *I. The Age of Bimbisāra*

Under the vigorous kings of the race of Bimbisāra and Nanda, Magadha played the same part in ancient Indian history which Wessex played in the annals of Pre-Norman England, and Prussia in the history of modern Germany. It was about the middle of the sixth century B.C., that Bimbisāra or Śrenika of the Haryanka-kula (called also Seniya Bimbisāra), son of Bhaṭṭiya, the real founder of the Magadhan imperial power, mounted his ancestral throne. The *Mahāvamsa*<sup>2</sup> tells us that "the virtuous Bimbisāra was fifteen years old when he was anointed king by his own father... two and fifty years he reigned." We learn from the *Sutta Nipata*<sup>3</sup> that the Magadhan capital was at this time at Rājagaha or Rājagrīha, "the Giribaja in Magadha."

The early Buddhist texts throw a flood of light on the political condition of India in the time of Bimbisāra. There were, as Prof. Rhys Davids observes, "besides a still surviving number of small aristocratic republics four kingdoms of considerable extent and power." In addition to these there were a number of smaller kingdoms, and some non-Aryan principalities. The most important amongst the republics were the Vajjians of Vaśali and the Mallas of

<sup>1</sup> The chapter on the Later Guptas was published in the JASB., 1880.

<sup>2</sup> Geiger's translation, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> SBE., X. II. 67.

Kusinārā (Kuśinagara) and Pāvā.<sup>1</sup> An account of both these peoples has already been given. Among the smaller republics Rhys Davids mentions the Śākyas of Kapilavastu,<sup>2</sup> the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, the Bhaggas of Sunsumāra Hill, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Kalamas of Kesaputta, and the Moriyas of Pippalivana.

The Śākyas were settled in the territory bordered on the north by the Himalayas, on the east by the river Rohini,<sup>3</sup> and on the west and south by the Rāptī.<sup>4</sup> They claimed to belong to the solar (Āditya) race and Ikshvāku family, and, as we have already seen, acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of Kosala. The Koliyas were their eastern neighbours. The introductory portion of the Kunāla Jātaka says that the Śākyas and Koliya tribes had the river Rohint, which flows between Kapilavastu and the capital of the Koliyas, confined by a single dam and by means of it cultivated their crops. "Once upon a time in the month Jetthamūla when the crops began to flag and droop, the labourers from amongst the dwellers of both cities assembled together." Then followed a scramble for water. From the mutual recriminations which ensued we learn that the Śākyas had the custom of marrying their own sisters. In the Tīrthajātrā section of the Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata<sup>5</sup> mention is made of a place called Kapilavatī. It is not altogether improbable that we have here a Brāhmaṇical reference to the capital of the Śākyas.

The Bhaggas (Bhargas) are known to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 28) which refers to the Bhārgavāṇa

<sup>1</sup> Twelve miles from Kusinārā (Cunningham, AGI, old ed., p. 434). Between Pāvā and Kusinārā there was a stream called Kekuthā, the Cecother of the Classical writers.

<sup>2</sup> Piprahā in the north of the Basī district; or Tilaurā Kōṭī in the Tarā (Smith, EHI., p. 159). For the institutions of the city see Bod. Ind., p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> A tributary of the Rāptī (Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 86).

<sup>4</sup> Rayson, Ancient India, p. III; Oldenberg, Buddha, pp. 96, 99. <sup>5</sup> III. 84. 31.

prince Kairisi Sutvan. In the sixth century B.C., the Bhagga state was a dependency of the Vatsa kingdom; for we learn from the preface to the *Dhonasākha Jataka*, No. 353, that prince Bodhi, the son of Udayana, king of the Vatsas, dwelt in *Suñsumāragiri* and built a palace called Kokanada. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivamśa* also testify to the close connection between the Vatsas and the Bhargas (Bhaggas):

"Vatsabhūmiñcha Kaunteyo vijigye balavān balāt  
Bhargāñmadhipañchaiva Nishādādhipatim tathā."<sup>1</sup>

"Pratardanasya putrau dvau Vatsa Bhargau babhu-  
vatuh."<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the **Bulis** and the **Kalamas** we know very little. The *Dhammadapada* commentary<sup>3</sup> refers to the **Buli** territory as the kingdom of Allakappa, and says that it was 10 leagues in extent. From the story of its king's intimate relationship with king Vethadipaka it may be presumed that Allakappa lay not far from Vethadipa, the native land of the Brāhmaṇa *Droṇa*, which stood on the way from *Masār* in the Shahabād District to *Vaiśali* (*Si-yu-ki*, Bk. VII). The **Kalamas** were the clan of the philosopher Ālara.<sup>4</sup> The name of their capital, Kesaputta, reminds us of the **Kesins**, a people mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*<sup>5</sup> and probably also in the *Ashtādhyāyī* of *Pāṇini*,<sup>6</sup> and connected with the **Pāñchālas** and **Dalbhayas** who appear in the *Rig Veda*, V. 61, as settled on the banks of the *Gomati*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mba.* II, 80, 10-11.

<sup>2</sup> *Hariv.* 20, 72.

<sup>3</sup> *Harvard Oriental Series* 28, p. 267.

<sup>4</sup> *Buddhacarita* XII, 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ved. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 188.

<sup>6</sup> VI, 4, 185.

<sup>7</sup> The *Anguttara* (L. 188) names to place Kesaputta in *Kusala*.

The Moriyas were undoubtedly the same clan which gave Magadha its greatest dynasty.<sup>1</sup> Pippalivana, the Moriya Capital, is apparently identical with the Nyagrodhavana or Banyan Grove, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, where stood the famous Embers Tope.<sup>2</sup> Fa Hien tells us that the Tope lay twelve Yojanas to the west of Kusinārā.<sup>3</sup>

Among the smaller kingdoms may be mentioned Gandhāra ruled by Pukkusāti, Roruka (in Sauvira or the Lower Indus Valley) governed by Rudrāyapa,<sup>4</sup> Śurasena ruled by Subāhu Avantiputta, and Āṅga under the sway of Brahmadatta.

The most famous amongst the non-Aryan principalities was the realm of the Yakkha Alavaka.<sup>5</sup> This little state was situated near the Ganges and was probably identical with the Chanchu territory visited by Hiuen Tsang. Cunningham and Smith identify the country with the Ghazipur region.<sup>6</sup> It had Ālavi<sup>7</sup> for its capital. This city seems to be identical with the town of Alabhiyā mentioned in the Uvāsagadassī.<sup>8</sup> Near it there was a large forest.<sup>9</sup> According to Hoernle the name of the kingdom represents the Sanskrit Atavi which means a forest. The same scholar points out that in the Abhidhānappadtpikā Ālavi is mentioned in a list of twenty names of cities including Bārāṇasi, Sāvatthi, Vesali, Mithilā, Ālavi, Kosambhi, Ujjeni, Takkasthā, Champā, Sāgala,

<sup>1</sup> "Then did the Brāhmaṇa Oñākka amidst a glorious youth, known by the name Candagnata, as king over all Jambudipa, born of a noble clan, the Moriyas." Gelzer, *Mahāvāsin*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 135; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 23-24; Cunningham, *AS I*, old ed., pp. 429, 433.

<sup>3</sup> Legge, *Fa Hien*, p. 78. Cf. *JRAS*, 1903, 388.

*Dīrvyādīpanā*, p. 545.

<sup>4</sup> *Sutta Nipata*, *BBI*, X, II, 29-30.

<sup>5</sup> Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 61, 240.

<sup>6</sup> *Sutta Nipata*; the *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, p. 275.

<sup>7</sup> II, p. 102; Appendix, pp. 51-52.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, p. 160.

Satiṣumāragira, Rājagaha, Kapilavatthu, Sūketa, Indapatta, Ukkattha,<sup>1</sup> Pātaliputtaka, Jettuttara,<sup>2</sup> Samkassa and Kusinārī. The Chullavagga (VI. 17) mentions the Aggālava shrine at Ālavī. In the Uvāsagadāsa the king of Ālabhiyā is named Jiyasattū (Jitāśratu). But Jiyasattū seems to have been a common designation of kings like the epithet Devānampiya of a later age. The name is given also to the rulers of Sgvatthi, Kampilla, Mithila, Champa, Vāṇiyagāma, Bārāṇasi and Polasapura.<sup>3</sup> Buddhist writers refer to other Yakkha principalities besides Ālavaka.<sup>4</sup>

The most important factors in the political history of the period were, however, neither the republics nor the Yakkha principalities, but the four great kingdoms of Kosala, Vatsa, Avanti and Magadha.<sup>5</sup>

In Kosala king Mahākosala had been succeeded by his son Pasenadi or Prasenajit. The new king preserved unimpaired the extensive heritage received from his father, and ruled Kāsi and Kosala. He also exercised suzerainty over the Śākyā territory. We have already seen that the Samyutta Nikaya refers to him as the head of a group of five Rājās, "on one occasion when the Exalted One was at Sāvatthi, five Rājās the Pasenadi being the chief among them, were indulging in various forms of amusements."

In her interesting article "Sage and King in Kosala-Samyutta," Mrs. Rhys Davids admirably sums up the character of Pasenadi, "He is shown combining like so many of his class all the world over, a proneness to affairs of sex with the virtues and affection of a good 'family

<sup>1</sup> A town in the Kingdom of Kosala (Dialogues of the Buddha, I. 108).

<sup>2</sup> Near Chitor (N. L. Dey).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Maeraṇa, Uvāsagadāsa, II, pp. 8, 64, 100, 103, 105, 118, 166.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sutta Nipata, SB., Vol. X, II, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> Ruled, according to the Tibetans, by Prasenajit, son of Brahmudatta (Mahākosala), Udayana, son of Satiṣumāra, Prajyota son of Anantadevi (Punika or Punaka), and Bimbisāra son of Mahāpadma (Bhattiya) respectively (Essay on Gotipādhyā, p. 178).

man,' indulgence at the table with an equally natural wish to keep in good physical form, a sense of honour and honesty, shown in his disgust at legal cheating, with a greed for acquiring wealth and war indemnities, and a fussiness over lost property, a magnanimity towards a conquered foe with a callousness over sacrificial slaughter and the punishment of criminals. Characteristic also is both his superstitious nervousness over the sinister significance of dreams due, in reality, to disordered appetites, and also his shrewd, politic care to be on good terms with all religious orders, whether he had testimonials to their genuineness or not."<sup>1</sup>

We learn from the *Amhaṭṭha* and *Lohichcha* Suttas<sup>2</sup> that Pasensdi was a patron of the Brahmanas, and gave them spots on royal domains with power over them as if they were kings. He was also a friend of the Buddha and his followers, and made monasteries for their habitation.<sup>3</sup>

He had many queens, e.g., Mallikā, daughter of the chief of garland-makers in Sāvatthi, and Vāsabha Khattiyā born to a Śākyā named Mahānāman from a slave woman. He had a daughter called Vajirā or Vajīri Kumārī,<sup>4</sup> and a son named Viñḍabha whose mother was Vāsabha Khattiyā. Prince Viñḍabha at first appears to have served as his father's *Senāpati* or General.<sup>5</sup> Afterwards he succeeded to the throne and perpetrated a ferocious massacre of the Śākyas.

Hoernle in the *Uvāsagadassō*<sup>6</sup> refers to Mṛigadhara, who is said to have been the first minister of Prasenajit

<sup>1</sup> Bhāskararāma Commemoration Volume, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Dialogues of the Buddha, I, pp. 108, 288.

<sup>3</sup> Gagga Jātaka, No. 155.

<sup>4</sup> Majjhima, II, p. 110.

<sup>5</sup> For the employment of princes as *Senāpati* see Kautilya (Mysore edition, 1849), p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> II, Appendix, p. 56.

or Pasenadi. Prof. Bhandakar refers to another minister called Siri-Vaddha. Another important official was Digha Chārāyana.<sup>1</sup> He is probably identical with Dirgha Chārāyapa mentioned by Kautilya as an author of a treatise on kingly duties,<sup>2</sup> and by Vātsyāyana as an author of the science of Erotics. His uncle Bandhula was a general.

The Buddhist texts throw some light on the foreign and internal affairs of Pasenadi's reign. The Majjhima Nikāya (II, p. 101) tells us that the Kosalan monarch was on friendly terms with Seniya Bimbisāra and the Visālika Licchabhāvi. But he was much troubled by robbers like Angulimāla. We read in the Mahāvagga<sup>3</sup> that certain Bikkhus travelling on the road from Sāketa to Sāvatthi were killed by robbers. Then the king's soldiers came and caught some of the ruffians. In another passage (p. 261) of the Mahāvagga it is stated that a residence of the Bikkhus in the Kosala country was menaced by savages.

In the Vatsa kingdom king Satānika Parantapa was succeeded by his son Udayana who is the hero of many Indian legends.<sup>4</sup> The commentary of the Dhammapada gives the story of the way in which Vāsuladatta or Vāsavadatta, the daughter of Pradyota, king of Avanti, became his wife. It also mentions two other queens of the Vatsa king, viz., Māgandiya, daughter of a Kuru Brāhmaṇa, and Sāmīvati. The Svapna-Vāsavadatta of Bhāsa mentions another queen named Padmīvatti who is represented as sister to king Darśaka of Magadha. The Priyadarśikā speaks of Udayana's marriage with the daughter of Dridhavarman, king of Aṅga. The Ratnāvalī tells the

<sup>1</sup> Majjhima N. II, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nittirjita Chārāyapaḥ, Ep. Indica, III, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> SBE, XIII, p. 220.

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed account of the legends see "Essay on Gopālīya and the Peñatkathā" by Prof. Félix Léodot, translated by the Rev. A. M. Talard.

story of the love of the king of Vatsa and of Sāgatikā, an attendant of his queen Vāsavadattā. Stories about Udayana were widely current in Avanti in the time of Kālidāsa (*cf.* Meghadūta, "prāpyavantim Udayana kathā kovida grāmaviddhan"). The Jātakas throw some sidelight on the character of this king. In the preface to the Matanga Jātaka it is related that in a fit of drunken rage he had Pindola tortured by having a nest of ants tied to him. The Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva, a writer of the eleventh century A.D., contains a long account of Udayana's *Digiejaya*.<sup>1</sup> The Priyadarśikā of Śrīharsha (Act IV) speaks of the king's victory over the lord of Kalinga, and the restoration of his father-in-law Dridhavarman to the throne of Aṅga. It is difficult to disentangle the kernel of historical truth from the husk of popular fables. It seems that Udayana was a great king who really made some conquests, and contracted matrimonial alliances with the royal houses of Avanti, Aṅga and Magadha.

The throne of Avanti was at this time occupied by Chanda Pradyota Mahāsena who had three sons named Gopālaka, Pālaka and Kumārasena, and a daughter named Vāsavadattā, the chief queen of Udayana. Regarding the character of Pradyota the Mahāvagga says that he was cruel.<sup>2</sup> The Purāṇas tell us that he was "nayavarjita," i.e., destitute of good policy. The same authorities observe that "he will indeed have the neighbouring kings subject to him—sa val pranata sāmantah." That he was a king feared by his neighbours is apparent from a statement of the Majjhima Nikāya (III. 7) that Ajatasatru, son of Bimbisāra, fortified Rajagriha because he was afraid of an invasion of his territories by Pradyota.

<sup>1</sup> Tawney's Translation, Vol. I, pp. 148 ff.

<sup>2</sup> SBE, XVII, p. 197.

**Magadha**, as we have already seen, was ruled by Bimbisāra himself. He maintained friendly relations with his northern and western neighbours. He received an embassy and a letter from Pukkusāti, the king of Gandhāra. When Pradyota was suffering from jaundice the Magadha king sent the physician Jivaka. He contracted matrimonial alliances with the ruling families of Madra, Kosala and Vaiśālī. These marriages were of great importance for the history of Magadha. They paved the way for the expansion of Magadha both westward and northward. Bimbisāra's Kosalan wife brought a Kāsi village producing a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money.<sup>1</sup> According to the Thusa Jātaka<sup>2</sup> and Musika Jātaka<sup>3</sup> the Kosalan princess was the mother of Ajātaśatru. The preface to the Jātakas says, "At the time of his (Ajātaśatru's) conception there arose in his mother, the daughter of the king of Kosala, a chronic longing to drink blood from the right knee of king Bimbisāra." In the Samyukta Nikāya<sup>4</sup> Pasenadi of Kosala calls Ajātaśatru his nephew. On page 38 of the Book of the Kindred Sayings, however, Maddā appears as the name of Ajātaśatru's mother. The Jaina writers, on the other hand, represent Chellānā, daughter of Chetaka of Vaiśālī, as the mother of Kunika-Ajātaśatru. The Nikāyas call Ajātaśatru Vedehiputta. This seems to confirm the Jaina tradition because Vaiśālī was situated in Videha. Buddhaghosha, however, resolves "Vedehi" into Veda-Iha, Vedens Ihati or intellectual effort.<sup>5</sup> In this connection we should remember that even Kosalan monarchs had sometimes the epithet

<sup>1</sup> Jātaka Nos. 239, 283, 492.

<sup>2</sup> No. 389.

<sup>3</sup> No. 379.

<sup>4</sup> The Book of the Kindred Sayings, p. 110.

<sup>5</sup> The Book of the Kindred Sayings, p. 109 n.

Vaideha.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to come to a final decision with regard to the parentage of the mother of Ajātaśatru from the data at our disposal.

Disarming the hostility of his powerful western and northern neighbours by his shrewd policy, Bimbisāra could devote his undivided attention to the struggle with Aṅga which he annexed after defeating Brahmadatia.<sup>2</sup> The annexation of Aṅga by Bimbisāra is proved by the evidence of the Mahāvagga<sup>3</sup> and of the Sonadanda Sutta of the Digha Nikāya in which it is stated that the revenues of the town of Champā have been bestowed by King Bimbisāra on the Brāhmaṇa Sonadanda. We learn from Jaina sources<sup>4</sup> that Aṅga was governed as a separate province under a Magadhan prince with Champā as its capital. Thus by war and policy Bimbisāra added Aṅga and a part of Kāsi to the Magadhan dominions, and launched Magadha in that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Aśoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kalinga. We learn from the Mahāvagga that Bimbisāra's dominions embraced 80,000 townships, the overseers (Gāmikas) of which used to meet in a great assembly.

The victories of Bimbisāra's reign were probably due in large measure to the vigour and efficiency of his administration. We are informed by the Chullavagga of the Vinaya Pitaka (VII. 3.5) that he exercised a rigid control over his High Officers, dismissing those who advised him badly and rewarding those whose advice he approved of. The Highest Officers (Mahāmātras) were divided into three classes, *viz.*, (1) Sabbathaka (the officer in charge of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 100, 491; Patañjali is called both Vaideha and Kaṇṭaka.

<sup>2</sup> JASB., 1914, p. 331.

<sup>3</sup> SBE., XVII, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Hemachandra, the author of the Bhavarīvalī; cf. also the Bhagavatī Sūtra and the Nirayāvalī Sūtra.

general affairs, (2) Vohārika Mahāmattas (judges) and (3) Senānayika Mabūmattas (generals).

The Vinaya texts afford us a glimpse into the activities of these Mahāmattas (Mahāmātras), and the rough and ready justice meted out to criminals. Thus we have reference not only to imprisonment in jails (*kārā*), but also to punishment by scourging, branding, beheading, tearing out the tongue, breaking ribs, etc. Information regarding activities of a different kind is given by the Chinese pilgrims. Hiuen Tsang, for instance, refers to Bimbisāra's road and causeway, and says that when Kusāgrāpura or Kusāgrāpura<sup>1</sup> (old Rājagṛīha) was afflicted by fires the king went to the cemetery and built the new city of Rājagṛīha. Fa Hien, however, gives the credit for the foundation of New Rājagṛīha to Ajātaśatru.

Bimbisāra had many sons, namely, Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru (Aśokachandra of the Kathākoṣa), Halla and Vehalla (born from queen Chellānā), Abhaya (born from queen Nandā), Silavat, Vimala-Kondāñña, and Kalaga. Ajātaśatru seems to have acted as his father's Viceroy at Champā.<sup>2</sup> He is said to have killed his father and seized the entire kingdom.

### *II. Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru.*

The reign of Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru was the highwater mark of the power of the Bimbisārian (Haryāṇka) dynasty. He not only humbled Kosala and permanently annexed Kāsi, but also absorbed the state of Vaiśali. The traditional account of his duel with Kosala is given in the Samyutta Nikāya<sup>3</sup> and the Haritamāta, Vaḍḍhaki-Sūkara, Kummaśapinda, Tachchha Sūkara

<sup>1</sup> Probably named after the early Magadhan King Kusāgra (AIHT, 149).

<sup>2</sup> Bhagavati Sūtra, Nirayavalli Sūtra, Parīkṣāpātraṇa and the Kathākoṣa, p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> The book of the Kindred Sayings, pp. 109-110.

and the Bhaddasāla Jātakas. It is said that after Ajātaśatru murdered Bimbisāra, his father, the queen Kosala Devī died of love for him. "Even after her death Ajātaśatru still enjoyed the revenues of the Kāsi village which had been given to the lady Kosalā for bath money. But Pasenadi, the king of Kosala, determined that no parricide should have a village which was his by right of inheritance and made war upon Ajātaśatru. Sometimes the uncle got the best of it, and sometimes the nephew. On one occasion the Kosalan monarch fled away in defeat; on another occasion he took Ajātaśatru prisoner. His daughter Vajira he gave in marriage to his captive nephew and dismissed her with the Kāsi village for her bath money." It is stated in the Bhaddasāla Jātaka that during Pasenadi's absence in a country town, Dīgha Chārāyaṇa, the Commander-in-Chief, raised prince Viśūḍhabha to the throne. The ex-king set out for Rajagaha, resolved to take his nephew (Ajātaśatru) with him and capture Viśūḍhabha. But he died from exposure outside the gates of Rajagaha.

The traditional account of Ajātaśatru-Kūnika's war with Vaisāli is given by Jaina writers. King Seniya Bimbisāra is said to have given his famous elephant Seyanaga (Sechanaka) together with a huge necklace of eighteen strings of jewels, to his younger sons Halla and Vehalla born from his wife Chellāñja, the daughter of King Chetaka of Vaisāli. His eldest son Kūniya (Ajātaśatru) after usurping his father's throne, on the instigation of his wife Padmāvatī (Padmavati) demanded from his younger brothers the return of both gifts. On the latter refusing to give them up and flying with them to their grandfather Chetaka in Vaisāli, Kūniya having failed peacefully to obtain the extradition of the fugitives, commenced war with Chetaka.<sup>1</sup> According to Buddha-

<sup>1</sup> Vyākhyadeśo, II, Appendix, p. 71; cf. Tawney, Kathākosa, pp. 178 ff.

ghosha's commentary the *Sumanagala vilāsini*<sup>1</sup> the cause of the war was a breach of trust on the part of the Lichchhavis in connection with a mine of precious gems.

The preliminaries to the struggle between Magadha and Vaisāli are described in the *Mahāvagga* and the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*. In the *Mahāvagga* it is related that Sunidha and Vassakāra, two ministers of Magadha, were building a fort at Pāṭaligāma in order to repel the Vajjis. The *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* says "the Blessed One was once dwelling in Rājagaha on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now at that time Ajāta-sattu Vedehiputta, the king of Magadha, was desirous of attacking the Vajjians; and he said to himself, 'I will root out these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin.'

"So he spake to the Brahmana Vassakāra, the prime minister of Magadha, and said 'Come now, Brāhmaṇa, do you go to the Blessed One, and... tell him that Ajātasatru has resolved 'I will root out these Vajjians' Vassakāra hearkened to the words of the king...' (and delivered to the Buddha the message even as the king had commanded).

In the *Nirayāvali Sutra* it is related that when Kunika (Ajātasatru) prepared to attack Chetaka of Vaisāli the latter called together the eighteen Ganarājas of Kāsi and Kosala, together with the Lichchhavis and Mallakis, and asked them whether they would satisfy Kunika's demands, or go to war with him. The good relations subsisting between Kosala and Vaisāli are referred to in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. II, p. 101. There is thus no reason to doubt the authenticity of the Jaina statement regarding the alliance between Kāsi-Kosala

<sup>1</sup> Burmese Edition, Part II, p. 90.

on the one hand and Vaiśāli on the other. It seems that all the enemies of Ajātasatru including the rulers of Kasi-Kosala and Vaiśāli offered a combined resistance. The Kosalan war and the Vajjian war were probably not isolated events but parts of a common movement directed against the establishment of the hegemony of Magadha. This struggle reminds us of the tussle of the Samnites, Etruscans and Gauls with the rising Roman power.

In the war with Vaiśāli Kūniya Ajātasatru is said to have made use of *Mahāsilakauṭaga* and *ra(f)hamusala*. The first seems to have been some engine of war of the nature of a catapult which threw big stones. The second was a chariot to which a mace was attached and which, running about, effected a great execution of men.<sup>1</sup> The *ra(f)hamusala* may be compared to the tanks used in the great European war.

The war synchronised with the death of Gosala Mankhaliputta. Sixteen years later at the time of Mahāvira's death the anti-Magadhan confederacy was still in existence. We learn from the Kalpa Sūtra that on the death of Mahāvira the confederate kings mentioned in the Nirayāvalī Sūtra instituted a festival to be held in memory of that event. The struggle between the Magadha king and the powers arrayed against him thus seems to have been protracted for more than sixteen years. The Atthakatha gives an account of the Machiavellian tactics adopted by Magadhan statesmen headed by Vassakāra to sow the seeds of dissension among the Vaiśālians and thus bring about their downfall.<sup>2</sup>

The absorption of Vaiśāli and Kasi as a result of the Kosalan and Vajjian wars probably brought the aspiring ruler of Magadha face to face with the equally ambitious

<sup>1</sup> Utkarshagadaśa, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 60; Kāshikōṣa, p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Modern Review, July, 1919, pp. 55-56.

sovereign of Avanti. We have already referred to a statement of the Majjhima Nikaya that on one occasion Ajātaśatru was fortifying his capital because he was afraid of an invasion of his dominions by Pradyota. We do not know whether the attack was ever made. Ajātaśatru does not appear to have succeeded in humbling Avanti. The conquest of that kingdom was reserved for his successors.

In the opinion of Mr. Jayaswal the Parkham statue is a contemporary portrait of king Ajātaśatru. But this view has not met with general acceptance.

### *III. Ajātaśatru's Successors.*

Ajātaśatru was succeeded according to the Purāṇas by Darsaka. Prof. Geiger considers the insertion of Darsaka after Ajātaśatru to be an error, because the Pāli Canon indubitably asserts that Udayibhadda was the son of Ajātaśatru and probably also his successor. Jaina tradition recorded in the Kathakoga (p. 177) and the Parisishtaparvan (p. 42) also represents Udaya or Udayin as the son of Kūṇika by his wife Padmavati, and his immediate successor.

Though the reality of the existence of Darsaka, as king of Magadha, is established by the discovery of Bhāsa's *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, yet in the face of Buddhist and Jaina evidence it cannot be confidently asserted that he was the immediate successor of Ajātaśatru. Prof. Bhandarkar identifies him with Naga-Darsaka who is represented by the Ceylonese Chronicles as the last king of Bimbisāra's line. The Ceylonese tradition seems to be confirmed by the following passage in Hiuen Tsang's *Si-yu-ki*, "To the south-west of the old Saṅghārāma about 100 li is the Saṅghārāma of Ti-lo-shi-kia... It was built by the last descendant of Bimbisāra raja."<sup>1</sup> The name of the

<sup>1</sup> Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, II., p. 102.

second Saṅghārāma was probably derived from that of Darsaka who is here represented as the last descendant of Bimbisāra.

**Udayin**: Before his accession to the throne Udayin or Udayibhadda, the son of Ajatasatru, seems to have acted as his father's Viceroy at Champā.<sup>1</sup> The Parīśiṣṭaparvan further informs us that he founded a new capital on the bank of the Ganges which came to be known as Pāṭaliputra. This part of the Jaina tradition is confirmed by the testimony of the Vāyu Purāṇa according to which Udayi built the city of Kusumapura in the fourth year of his reign. The choice of Pāṭaliputra was probably due to its position in the centre of the realm which now included North Bihar. Moreover its situation at the confluence of two large rivers (the Ganges and the Son) was important from the commercial as well as strategic point of view. In this connection it is interesting to note that Kautilya recommends a site at the confluence of rivers for the capital of a kingdom.

The *Parisishṭaparvan* (pp. 45-46) refers to the king of Avanti as the enemy of Udayin. This does not seem to be improbable in view of the fact that his father had to fortify his capital in expectation of an attack about to be made by Pradyota, king of Avanti. The fall of Anga and Vaisali and the discomfiture of Kosala had left Avanti the only important rival of Magadha. This last kingdom had absorbed all the kingdoms and republics of eastern India. On the other hand, if the *Kathā-sarit-sagara*<sup>2</sup> is to be believed the kingdom of Kausambi was at this time annexed to the realm of Pālaka of Avanti, the son of Pradyota. The two kingdoms, Magadha and Avanti, were brought face to face with each other. The contest between the two for the mastery of northern India began, as we have seen, in the reign of Ajatasatru. It must have continued

<sup>1</sup> Jacob J. Tazimishapetian, p. 42.

Jawney's Translation, Vol. II, p. 484.

during the reign of Udayin. The issue was finally decided in the time of Śīśunāga.

In the opinion of Mr. Jayaswal one of the famous "Patna Statues" in the Bhārhut Gallery of the Indian Museum is a portrait of Udayin. According to him the statue bears the following words :

Bhage ACHO chhoniidhiše.

He identifies ACHO with king Aja mentioned in the Bhāgavata list of Śīśunāga kings, and with Udayin of the Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmapūra lists. Mr. Jayaswal's reading and interpretation of the inscription have not, however, been accepted by several scholars including Dr. Barnett, and Professors Chanda and Majumdar. Dr. Smith, however, while unwilling to dogmatize, was of opinion that the statue was pre-Maurya. In the third edition of his "Asoka" he considers Mr. Jayaswal's theory as probable.

The characters of the short inscription on the statue are so difficult to read that it is well-nigh impossible to come to a final decision. For the present the problem must be regarded as not yet definitely solved. Cunningham described the statue as that of a Yaksha. According to him the figure bore the words "Yakhe Achusanigika." Prof. Chanda's reading is : Bha (?) ga Achachha nivika (the owner of inexhaustible capital, i.e. Vaiśravana).<sup>1</sup> Dr. Majumdar reads : Gate (Yakhe ?) Lechchhai (vi) 40, 4.

Udayin's successors according to the Purāṇas were Nandivardhana and Mahānadin. But the Ceylonese chronicles place after Udayi the kings named Anuruddha, Mundā and Nāga Dūsaka. Here again the Ceylonese account is partially confirmed by the Āṅguttara Nikāya which refers to Mundā, King of Pāṭaliputra. Prof. Bhandarkar mentions his queen Bhadradevi and treasurer

Priyaka. The *Anguttara Nikāya* by mentioning Pāṭaliputra as the capital of Mūḍa indirectly confirms the tradition regarding the transfer of the Magadhan metropolis from Rajagṛīha to Kusumapura or Pāṭaliputra.

The Ceylonese chronicles state that all the kings from Ajātaśatru to Nāga-Dāsaka were parricides. The people became angry, banished the dynasty and raised an *amātya* named Susu Nāga (*Śisunāga*) to the throne.

The new king seems to have been acting as the Magadhan Viceroy at Benares. The Purāṇas tell us that "placing his son at Benares he will make Girivraja his own abode." The employment of *amātyas* as provincial governors or district officers need not cause surprise. The custom was prevalent as late as the time of Gautamiputra Satakarni and Rudradāman I.

The Purāṇic statement that Śisunāga destroyed the power of the Pradyotas proves the correctness of the Ceylonese tradition that he came after Bimbisāra who was a contemporary of Pradyota. In view of this we cannot accept the other Purāṇic statement that Śisunāga was the progenitor of Bimbisāra's family. It may be argued that as Śisunāga had his capital at Girivraja he must have flourished before Udayin who was the first to remove the capital to Pāṭaliputra. But the fact that Kalasoka, the son and successor of Śisunāga, had also to transfer the royal residence from Rajagṛīha to Pāṭaliputra<sup>1</sup> shows that one of his predecessors had reverted to the old capital. Who this predecessor was is made clear by the Purāṇic statement that Śisunāga "will make Girivraja his own abode." The inclusion of Benares within Śisunāga's dominions also proves that he came after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru who were the first to establish Magadhan authority in Kasi.

<sup>1</sup> SBE, XI, p. 275.

From a statement in the *Mālānākāravatthu*, a Pali work of modern date, but following very closely the more ancient books, it appears that Śisunāga had a royal residence at Vaiśālī which ultimately became his capital.<sup>1</sup> "That monarch (Śisunāga), not unmindful of his mother's origin,<sup>2</sup> re-established the city of Vesāli, and fixed in it the royal residence. From that time Rājagṛha lost her rank of royal city which she never afterwards recovered." This passage which says that Rājagṛha lost her rank of royal city from the time of Śisunāga, proves that Śisunāga came after the palmy days of Rājagṛha, i.e., the period of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru.

The most important achievement of Śisunāga seems to have been the annihilation of the power and prestige of the **Pradyota dynasty of Avanti**. Pradyota, the first king of the line, had been succeeded by his sons Gopāla and Pālaka after whom came Āryaka. The Purāṇas place after Āryaka or Ajaka a king named Nandivardhana, or Vartivardhana, and add that Śisunāga will destroy the prestige of the Pradyotas and be king. Mr. Jayaswal identifies Ajaka and Nandivardhana of the Avanti list with Aja-Udāyin and Nandivardhana of the Purāṇic list of Śisunāga kings. But Prof. Bhandarkar says that Āryaka or Ajaka was the son of Gopāla, the elder brother of Pālaka. 'Nandivardhana' and 'Vartivardhana' are apparently corruptions of Avantivardhana, the name of a son of Pālaka according to the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*,<sup>3</sup> of Gopāla, according to the Nepalese *Brihat Kathā*. The important thing to remember is that the Pradyota dynasty was humbled by Śisunāga. Whether the

<sup>1</sup> SSE, XI, p. xvi. If the Dāka/Indra-purusha is to be believed Vesāli (Vaiśālī) continued to be a secondary capital till the time of the Nandas.

<sup>2</sup> Śisunāga, according to the *Mahāvastu* (Bhāskari's *Mahāvastu*, 1922), was the son of a Licchavi king of Vaiśālī. He was conceived by a separate female and brought up by an officer of state.

<sup>3</sup> Tawney's translation II, 483.

Saiśunāga occupation of Avanti took place immediately after Pālaka, or two generations later, is immaterial.

Saiśunāga<sup>1</sup> was succeeded according to the Purāṇas by his son **Kakavarna**, according to the Ceylonese chronicles by his son **Kalasoka**. Professors Jacobi, Geiger and Bhandarkar suggest that Kālaśoka, "the black Aśoka" and Kakavarna, "the crow-coloured" are one and the same person. This conclusion is confirmed by the evidence of the Aśokāvadāna which places Kākavarnin after Mūḍya, and does not mention Kālaśoka.<sup>2</sup> The two most important events of the reign of Kālaśoka are the holding of the Second Buddhist Council at Vaisālt, and the re-transfer of the capital to Pātaliputra. Bāṇa in his Harshacharita<sup>3</sup> gives a curious legend concerning the death of Kākavarna (Kalaśoka). It is stated there that Kākavarna Saiśunāgi had a dagger thrust into his throat in the vicinity of his city. The story about the tragic end of this king is, as we shall see later on, confirmed by Greek evidence.

The successors of Kalaśoka were his ten sons who are supposed to have ruled simultaneously. Their names according to the Mahābodhivaiśa were Bhadrāsena, Koranjavarpa, Maṅgura, Sarvañjaha, Jālika, Ubhaka, Sañjaya, Koravya, Nandivardhana and Pañchamaka. Prof. Bhandarkar suggests that Nandivardhana of the Mahābodhivaiśa is most probably Nandivardhana of the Purāṇic list. Mr. Jayaswal says that the headless Patna statue in the Bharhut Gallery of the Indian Museum is a portrait of this king. According to him the inscription on the statue runs as follows :—

Sapa (or Sava) khate Vaia Namdi.

<sup>1</sup> The Kārya Mīmāṃsa contains an interesting notice of this king and says that he prohibited the use of elephants in his harem.

<sup>2</sup> Geiger, Mahāyāhan, p. xli.      <sup>3</sup> Edited by Ekamati Pṛedurāng Pāṇini, p. 223.

He regards Vata Nañdi as an abbreviation of Vartivardhana (the name of Nandivardhana in the Vāyu list) and Nandivardhana. Mr. R. D. Banerji in the June number of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1919, says that there cannot be two opinions about the reading Vata Nañdi. Prof. Chanda, however, regards the statue in question as an image of a Yaksha and reads the inscription which it bears as follows :—

Yakha sa (?) vata nañdi.

Dr. Majumdar says that the inscription may be read as follows :—

Yakhe sam Vajinām 70

He places the inscription in the second century A. D., and supports the Yaksha theory propounded by Cunningham and upheld by Prof. Chanda. He does not agree with those scholars who conclude that the statue is a portrait of a Śaisunāga sovereign simply because there are some letters in the inscription under discussion which may be construed as a name of a Śaisunāga king. Referring to Mr. Jayaswal's suggestion that the form Vata Nañdi is composed of two variant proper names (Vartivardhana and Nañdivardhana) he says that Chandragupta II was also known as Devagupta, and Vigrahapāla had a second name Śtrapala ; but who has ever heard of compound names like Chandra-Deva or Deva-Chandra, and Sūra-Vigraha or Vigraha-Sūra ?

Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Sāstrī takes Vata Nañdi to mean Vratya Nañdi and says that the statue has most of the articles of dress as given by Kātyāyana to the Vratya Kshatriya. In the Parāṇas the Śisunāga kings are mentioned as Kshattrabandhus, i.e., Vratya Kshatriyas. The Mahāmahopādhyāya thus inclines to

the view of Mr. Jayaswal that the statue in question is a portrait of a Śaisunāga king.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Ordhendra Coomar Gangoly regards the statue as a Yaksha image, and draws our attention to the catalogue of Yakshas in the Mahamayuri and the passage "Nandi cha Vardhanas chaiva usagare Nandivardhane."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Barnett is also not satisfied that the four syllables which may be read as Vaṭa Naṇdi mention the name of a Śaisunāga king. Dr. Smith, however, in the third edition of his "Aśoka" admits the possibility of Mr. Jayaswal's contention. We regard the problem as still unsolved. The data at our disposal are too scanty to warrant the conclusion that the inscription on the Patna statue mentions a Śaisunāga king. The script seems to be late.

Messrs. R. D. Banerji and Jayaswal propose to identify Nandivardhana, the Śaisunāga king, with Nandarāja mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela, king of Kalinga. One of the passages containing the name of Nandarāja runs thus:—

Panchame cha dāni vase Na (m) da-raja-tivasasata-o(gha ?) titam Tanasuliyañčū panḍim nagaram pavesa...

"In the fifth year he had an aqueduct that had not been used for 300 (or 103) years since king Nanda conducted into the city."

Nandivardhana is identified with Nanda on the strength of Kshemendra's reference to the Pūrvanandaḥ who, we are told, should be distinguished from the Navanandaḥ or New (Later) Nandas, and identified with Nandivardhana and Mahānandin.<sup>3</sup> In the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, however, Pūrvananda (*Sing*) is distinguished, not from the

<sup>1</sup> JBOHS, December, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Review, October, 1919.

<sup>3</sup> The Oxford History of India, Additions and Corrections; JBOHS, 1918, 61.

Navanandāḥ, but from Yogananda (Pseudo-Nanda) the reanimated corpse of king Nanda.<sup>1</sup> The Purāṇas and the Ceylonese authorities know of the existence of only one Nanda line. Those works represent Nandivardhana as a king of the Śaisunāga line—a dynasty which is sharply distinguished from the Nandas. Moreover, as Prof. Chanda points out,<sup>2</sup> the Purāṇas contain nothing to show that Nandivardhana had anything to do with Kalinga. On the contrary we are distinctly told by those authorities that when the kings of the Śaisunāga dynasty and their predecessors were reigning in Magadha 32 kings reigned in Kaliṅga in succession synchronously. It is not Nandivardhana but Mahāpadma Nanda who is said to have brought "all under his sole sway" and "uprooted all Kshatriyas." So we should identify Naradarāja of the Hāthigumphā inscription who held possession of Kaliṅga either with the all-conquering Mahāpadma Nanda or one of his sons.

We learn from the Purāṇas as well as the Ceylonese Chronicles that the Śaisunāga dynasty was supplanted by the Nanda line.

#### *IV. The Chronology of the Bimbisāra (Haryanka) Śaisunāga Group.*

There is considerable disagreement between the Purāṇas and the Ceylonese Chronicles regarding the chronology of the kings of the Bimbisāriau (or Haryanka) and Śaisunāga dynasties. Even Dr. Smith is not disposed to accept all the dates given in the Purāṇas. Prof. Bhandarkar observes,<sup>3</sup> "they (the Purāṇas) assign a period of 363 years to ten consecutive reigns, i.e., at least 36 years to each reign which is quite preposterous."

<sup>1</sup> Kāthā Sarit Saṅgam, Durgaprasād and Farah's edition, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 1, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Carm. Lex., 1918 p. 68.

According to the Ceylonese Chronicles Bimbisāra ruled for fifty-two years, Ajātaśatru for 32 years, Udaya for 16 years, Anuruddha and Munja for 8 years, Nāgadāsaka for 24 years, Śuśunāga for 18 years, Kalasoka for 28 years and Kalasoka's sons for 22 years. Gautama Buddha died when Ajātaśatru was on the throne for 8 years,<sup>1</sup> i.e.,  $52+8=60$  years after the accession of Bimbisāra. Fleet and Geiger adduce good grounds for believing that the Parinirvana really took place in 483 B. C.<sup>2</sup> Adding 60 to 483 B. C. we get the year 543 B. C. as the date of the accession of Bimbisāra. In the time of Bimbisāra Gandhāra was an independent kingdom ruled by a king named Pukkusāti. By B. C. 516 Gandhāra had lost its independence and had become subject to Persia, as we know from the Behistan inscription of Darius. It is thus clear that Pukkusāti and his contemporary Bimbisāra lived before B. C. 516. This accords with the chronology which places his accession in B. C. 543. Curiously enough this is the starting point of one of the traditional Nirvāna eras. Prof. Geiger shows that the dates 544 (543 according to some scholars) and 483 were starting points of two distinct eras. He proves that in Ceylon down to the beginning of the eleventh century A. D. the Nirvāna era was reckoned from 483 B. C. There can thus be no doubt that the era of 483 B. C. was the real Nirvāna era. What then was the origin of the era of 544 or 543 B. C.? It is not altogether improbable that this era was reckoned from the accession of Bimbisāra, and was at first current in Magadha. Later on it travelled to distant lands including Ceylon and was confounded with the Nirvāna era of 483 B. C. Then the real Nirvāna era fell into disuse, and the era of 544 B. C. came to occupy its place.

<sup>1</sup> Carm. Lxx., p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> JRAS, 1909, pp. 1-31; Geiger, Mahābhāskari, p. xxvii.

*V. The Nandas.*

We have seen that the Saïsunāga dynasty was supplanted by the line of Nanda. The name of the first Nanda was Mahāpadma according to the Purāṇas, and Ugrasena according to the Mahābodhivatīsa. The Purāṇas describe him as Śudrā-garbh-odbhava, i.e., born of a Śudra mother. The Jaina Parīshṭaparvan (p. 46) represents Nanda as the son of a courtesan by a barber. The Jaina tradition is strikingly confirmed by the classical accounts of the father of Alexander's Magadhan contemporary. Curtius says<sup>1</sup> "His (Agrammes', i.e., the last Manda's) father (i.e., the first Nanda) was in fact a barber, scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings, but who, from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affections of the queen, and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign and then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death begot the present king." The murdered sovereign seems to have been Kālaśoka-Kākavarṇa who had a tragic end as we know from the Harshncharita. Kākavarṇa Saïsunāgi, says Bāna, had a dagger thrust into his throat in the vicinity of his city. The young princes referred to by Curtius were evidently the sons of Kālaśoka-Kākavarṇa. The Greek account of the rise of the family of Agrammes fits in well with the Ceylonese account of the end of the Saïsunāga line and the rise of the Nandas, but not with the Purāṇic story which represents the first Nanda as a son of the last Saïsunāga by a Śudra woman, and makes no mention of the young princes. The name Agrammes is

<sup>1</sup> McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 222.

probably a corruption of the Sanskrit Augrasainya, "son of Ugrasena." Ugrasena is, as we have seen, the name of the first Nanda according to the *Mahābodhi-vāmsa*. His son may aptly be termed Augrasainya which the Greeks corrupted into Agrammes and later on into Xandrames.

The Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmānda Purāṇas call Mahāpsdma, the first Nanda king, the destroyer of all the Kshatriyas (sarva Kshatrāntaka) and sole monarch (ekarāt) of the earth which was under his undisputed sway which terms imply that he overthrew all the dynasties which ruled contemporaneously with the Saisunāgas, *etc.*, the Ikshvākus, Kurus, Pañchalas, Kasis, Maithilas, Vīthihotras, Haihayas, Kalingas, Asmakas, Sūrasenas, etc. The Purāṇic account of the unification of a considerable portion of India under Nanda's sceptre is corroborated by the classical writers who speak of the most powerful peoples who dwelt beyond the Beas in the time of Alexander as being under one sovereign who had his capital at Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra). The inclusion of Kosala within Nanda's dominions seems to be implied by a passage of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*<sup>1</sup> which refers to the camp of king Nanda in Ayodhyā. Several Mysore inscriptions state that Kuntala, a province which included the southern part of the Bombay Presidency and the north of Mysore, was ruled by the Nandas.<sup>2</sup> But these are of comparatively modern date, the twelfth century, and too much cannot be built upon their statements. More important is the evidence of the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela which mentions Nandarāja in connection with an aqueduct of Kalinga. The passage in the inscription seems to imply that Nandarāja held sway in Kalinga. A second passage of Khāravela's inscription seems to state

<sup>1</sup> Tawney's Translation, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> R. C. Myers and Co. from the Inscriptions, p. 3.

that king Nanda carried away as trophies the statue (or footprints) of the first Jina and heirlooms of the Kaliṅga kings to Magadha.<sup>1</sup> In view of Nanda's possession of Kaliṅga, the conquest of regions lying further south does not seem to be altogether improbable. The existence on the Godāvari of a city called "Nau Nand Dehra" (Nander<sup>2</sup>) also suggests that the Nanda dominions embraced a considerable portion of the Deccan.

The Matsya Purāṇa assigns 88 years to the reign of the first Nanda, but 88 (Ashtāśiti) is probably a mistake for 28 (Ashtavimśati), as the Vāyu assigns only 28 years. According to Tāraṇāth, Nanda reigned 29 years<sup>3</sup>. According to the Ceylonese accounts the Nandas ruled only for 22 years.

Mahāpadma-Ugrasena was succeeded by his eight sons who ruled for twelve years according to the Purāṇas. The Ceylonese Chronicles, as we have already seen, give the total length of the reign-period of all the nine Nandas as 22 years. The Purāṇas mention only the name of one son of Mahāpadma, viz., Sūkulpa. The Mahābodhivāṁsa gives the following names: Pañduka, Pandugati, Bhūta-pāla, Rāshtrapāla, Govishāṇaka, Daśasiddhaka, Kaivarta and Dhana. The last king is called by the classical writers **Agrammes** or **Xandrames**. Agrammes is, as we have seen, probably the Greek corruption of the Sanskrit patronymic Augrasainya.

The first Nanda left to his sons not only a big empire but also a large army and a full exchequer. Curtius tells us that Agrammes king of the Gangaridae and the Prasii kept in the field for guarding the approaches to his country 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry, besides 2,000 four-horsed chariots, and, what was the most

<sup>1</sup> JBOSS, 1917, December, pp. 427-433.

<sup>2</sup> Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, V, p. 208.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., 1876, p. 362.

formidable force of all, a troop of elephants which, he said, ran up to the number of 3,000. Diodorus and Plutarch give similar accounts. But they raise the number of elephants to 4,000 and 6,000 respectively.

The enormous wealth of the Nandas is referred to by several writers. Prof. S. K. Aiyangar points out<sup>1</sup> that a Tamil poem contains an interesting statement regarding the wealth of the Nandas "which having accumulated first in Pātali, hid itself in the floods of the Ganges."<sup>2</sup> The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang refers to "the five treasures of king Nanda's seven precious substances." A passage of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara says<sup>3</sup> that king Nanda possessed 980 millions of gold pieces.

The *Ashtādhyāyi* of Pāṇini, translated by Mr. S. C. Vasu contains a rule (*Sūtra II. 4. 21*) as an illustration of which the following passage is cited :

Nandopakramāni manāni.

This indicates that one of the Nanda kings was credited with the invention of a particular kind of measures.

We learn from Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Kāmandaka's *Nitisāra*, the *Purānas*, the *Mahāvāriṣa* and the *Mudrārakshasa* that the Nanda dynasty was overthrown by Kautilya, the famous minister of Chandragupta Maurya. No detailed account of this great dynastic revolution has survived. The accumulation of an enormous amount of wealth by the Nanda kings probably implies a good deal of financial extortion. Moreover, we are told by the

<sup>1</sup> Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "The youngest brother was called Dhana Nanda, from his being addicted to hoarding treasure.... He collected riches to the amount of eighty kroshas—in a rock in the bed of the river (Ganges) having caused a great excavation to be made, he buried the treasures there.... Levying taxes among other articles, even on skins, gams, trees, and stones he amassed further treasures which he disposed of similarly." (Turnour, *Mahāvāriṣa* p. xxxix).

<sup>3</sup> Tawney's Translation, Vol. I, p. 21

classical writers that Agrammes (the last Nanda) "was detested and held cheap by his subjects as he rather took after his father than conducted himself as the occupant of a throne."<sup>1</sup>

The Purānic passage about the revolution stands as follows:

Uddharishyati tān sarvān  
Kauṭilyo vai dvir ashtabhiḥ  
Kauṭilyas Chandraguptam tu  
Tato rājye'bhishekshyati.

Mr. Jayaswal<sup>2</sup> proposes to read Virashṭabhiḥ instead of dvir ashtabhiḥ. Virashṭras he takes to mean the Arattas, and adds that Kauṭilya was helped by the Arattas "the band of robbers" of Justin.<sup>3</sup>

The Milinda-Pañho<sup>4</sup> refers to an episode of the great struggle between the Nandas and the Mauryas: "there was Bhaddasāla, the soldier in the service of the royal family of Naṇda, and he waged war against king Chandragutta. Now in that war, Nāgasena, there were eighty Corpse dances. For they say that when one great Head Holocaust has taken place (by which is meant the slaughter of ten thousand elephants, and a lac of horses, and five thousand charioteers, and a hundred kotis of soldiers on foot), then the headless corpses arise and dance in frenzy over the battle-field." The passage contains a good deal of what is untrustworthy. But we have here a reminiscence of the bloody encounter between the contending forces of the Nandas and the Mauryas.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MacCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., 1914, p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cunningham, *Brill's Topes*, pp. 88, 89.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. SBE., XXXVI, pp. 147-48.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ind. Ant., 1914, p. 124n.

## THE PERSIAN AND MACEDONIAN INVASIONS.

I. *The Advance of Persia to the Indus.*

While the kingdoms and republics of the Indian interior were gradually being merged in the Magadha Empire, those of North-West India were passing through vicissitudes of a different kind. In the first half of the sixth century B. C. the Uttarāpatha beyond the Madhyadeśa, like the rest of India, was parcelled out into a number of small states the most important of which were Kamboja, Gandhāra and Madra. No sovereign arose in this part of India capable of welding together the warring communities, as Ugrasena-Mahāpadma had done in the East. The whole region was at once wealthy and disunited, and formed the natural prey of the strong Achaemenian monarchy which grew up in Persia.

Kurush or **Cyrus** (558-530 B. C.), the founder of the Persian Empire, is said to have led an expedition against India through Gedrosia, but had to abandon the enterprise, escaping with seven men only.<sup>1</sup> But he was more successful in the Kabul valley. We learn from Pliny that he destroyed the famous city of Kapiśa. Arrian informs us<sup>2</sup> that "the district west of the river Indus as far as the river Cophen (Kabul) is inhabited by the Astacenians (Āshṭakas?)<sup>3</sup> and the Assacenians (Āsmakas), Indian tribes. These were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes, and finally they submitted to the Persians, and paid tribute to Cyrus, the son of Cambyses as ruler of their land." Strabo tells us that on one occasion the Persians summoned the Hydraces (the Kshudrakas) from India (*i.e.*, the Pañjab) to attend them as mercenaries.

<sup>1</sup> H. and F. Strabo, III., p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Chinnock's Edition, p. 399.

<sup>3</sup> Patañjali (iv. 2.2) refers to "Āshṭakam nāma dhūra."

In the Behistun (Bahistān) inscription<sup>1</sup> of Dārayavaush or Darius I (522-486 B. C.), the third sovereign of the Achæmenian dynasty, the people of Gandhāra (Gadāra) appear among the subject peoples of the Persian Empire. But no mention is there made of the Hidus (people of Sindhu or the Indus Valley) who are included with the Gandhārians in the lists of subject peoples given by the inscriptions on the palace of Darius at Persepolis, and on his tomb at Naksh-i-Rustum.<sup>2</sup> From this Rapson infers that the "Indians" (Hidus) were conquered at some date between 518 B. C., (the probable date of the Behistun inscription) and the end of the reign of Darius in 486 B. C. The preliminaries to this conquest are described by Herodotus<sup>3</sup> "he (Darius) being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could rely to make a true report and also Scylax of Caryanda. They accordingly setting out from the city of Caspatyrus<sup>4</sup> and the country of Paktyike (Pakthas?)<sup>5</sup> sailed down the river towards the east and sunrise to the sea; then sailing on the sea westwards, they arrived in the thirtieth month at that place where the king of Egypt despatched the Phœnicians, to sail round Libya. After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians and frequented the sea."

Herodotus tells us that "India" constituted the twentieth and the most populous satrapy of the Persian Empire, and that it paid a tribute proportionately larger than all the rest,—360 talents of gold dust ("equivalent to over a million pounds sterling"). Gandhāra was included in the seventh satrapy. The details regarding

<sup>1</sup> Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the Achæmenian Inscriptions by H. C. Tolman.

<sup>2</sup> McCrindle, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, pp. 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> Camb. Hist. Ind., I, 336.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 82.

"India" left by Herodotus leave no room for doubt that it embraced the Indus Valley and was bounded on the east by the desert of Rājaputāna. "That part of India towards the rising sun is all sand; for of the people with whom we are acquainted, the Indians live the furthest towards the east and the sunrise, of all the inhabitants of Asia, for the Indians' country towards the east is a desert by reason of the sands."

Khshayarshā or Xerxes (486-465 B.C.), the son and successor of Darius I., maintained his hold on the Indian provinces. In the great army which he led against Hellas both Gandhāra and "India" were represented. The Gandhārians are described by Herodotus as bearing bows of reed and short spears, and the "Indians" as being clad in cotton garments and bearing cane bows with arrows tipped with iron. An interesting relic of Persian dominion in India is a Taxila inscription in Aramaic characters of the fourth or fifth century B.C.<sup>1</sup> To the Persians is also attributed the introduction of the Kharoshthī alphabet, the "Persepolitan capital," and words like "dipi" and "nipishṭa" occurring in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Persian influence has also been traced in the preamble of the Aśokan edicts.

## II. *The Last of the Achæmenids and Alexander.*

Indians figured in the army which Darius III Codomannus (335-330 B.C.) led against Alexander. "The Indians who were conterminous with the Bactrians, as also the Bactrians themselves and the Sogdianians had come to the aid of Darius, all being under the command of Bessus, the Viceroy of the land of Bactria. They were followed by the Sacians, a Scythian tribe belonging to the Scythians who dwell in Asia. These were not subject

to Bessus but were in alliance with Darius...Barsentes, the Viceroy of Arachotia, led the Arachotians and the men who were called mountaineer Indians. There were a few Elephants, about fifteen in number, belonging to the Indians who live this side of the Indus. With these forces Darius had encamped at Gaugamela, near the river Bumodus, about 600 stades distant from the city of Arbela."<sup>1</sup> The hold of the Achaemenians on the Indian provinces had, however, grown very feeble about this time, and the whole of north-western India was parcelled out into innumerable kingdoms and republics. A list of the more important among these states is given below :—

1. The **Aspasian** territory (Alishang-Kūnar valley) :

It lay in the difficult hill country north of the Kābul river watered by the Choes (Alishang ?) and the Euaspla (Kūnar ?). The name of the people is derived from the Irānian "Aspa" i.e. the Sanskrit "Āśva" or Āsvaka. The Aspasians were thus the western branch of the Āsvakas or Āsmakas (Assakenians).<sup>2</sup> The chieftain of the tribe dwelt in a city on or near the river Euaspla, supposed to be identical with the Kūnar, a tributary of the Kabul. Other Aspasian cities were Andaca and Ari-gaeum.<sup>3</sup>

2. The country of the **Guraeans** :

It was watered by the river Guraeus (**Gauri** or Pañj-kora) and lay between the land of the Aspasians and the country of the Assakenians.

<sup>1</sup> Chisnock, Arrian's *Anabasis*, pp. 142-143.

<sup>2</sup> Camb. Hist. 262 n2.

<sup>3</sup> Chisnock's *Arrian*, pp. 280-281.

## 3. The kingdom of Assakenus (Swat Valley) :

It had its capital at Massaga, a "formidable fortress probably situated not very far to the north of the Malakand Pass but not yet precisely identified." The name of the Assakenians represents the Sanskrit *Aśvaka* or **Asmaka**. The *Asmakas* are mentioned by Pāṇini (IV, 1, 178). They are placed in the north-west by the authors of the *Mārkandeya Purāṇa* and the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*. A branch of this people probably settled in the Deccan, and gave their name to the *Assaka Mahājanapada* mentioned in the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*. The Assakenian king had a powerful army of 20,000 cavalry, more than 30,000 infantry and 30 elephants. The reigning king at the time of Alexander's invasion is called by the Greeks *Assakenos*. His mother was *Kleophasis*. *Assakenos* had a brother<sup>1</sup> who is called *Eryx* by Curtius and *Aphrikes* by Diodoros. It is not known in what relation these personages stood to *Sarabha*, king of the *Asmakas*, whose tragic fate is described by Bāṇa.

## 4. Nysa :

It was a small hill state with a republican constitution. It was alleged to have been founded by Greek colonists long before the invasion of Alexander.<sup>2</sup> Arrian says,<sup>3</sup> "the Nysaeans are not an Indian race, but descended from the men who came into India with Dionysus." Curiously enough a Yona or Greek state is mentioned along with Kamboja in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (II, 149) as flourishing in the time of Gautama Buddha and Assalāyana : "Yona Kambojesu dveva vanjā Ayyo c'eva Dāsocā."

<sup>1</sup> *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 378.

<sup>2</sup> McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 79; Hamilton and Balcombe, *Strabo*, Vol. III, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Chinnock's Edition, p. 390.

According to Holdich the lower spurs and valleys of Kohi-Mor are where the ancient city of Nysa once stood. At the time of Alexander's invasion the Nysaeans had Akouphis for their President. They had a Governing Body of 300 members.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5. Peukelaotis:

It lay on the road from Kābul to the Indus. Arrian tells us<sup>2</sup> that the Kābul falls into the Indus in the land called Peukelaotis, taking with itself the Malantus, Soastus and Guraeus. Peukelaotis represents the Sanskrit Pushkaravati. It formed the western part of the old kingdom of Gandhāra. The people of the surrounding region are sometimes referred to as the "Astakenoi" by historians. The capital is represented by the modern Chārsadda, 17 miles N. E. of Peshawar, on the Swāt river, the Soastus of Arrian, and the Suvāstu of the Vedic texts.

The reigning king at the time of Alexander's invasion was Astes<sup>3</sup> (Hasti or Ashtaka?). He was defeated and killed by Hephaestion, a general of the Macedonian king.

#### 6. Taxila or Takshashilā:

Strabo says<sup>4</sup> "between the Indus and the Hydaspes (Jihlam) was Taxila, a large city, and governed by good laws. The neighbouring country is crowded with inhabitants and very fertile." The kingdom of Taxila formed the eastern part of the old kingdom of Gandhāra.

In B. C. 327 the Taxilian throne was occupied by a prince whom the Greeks called Taxiles. When Alexander of Macedonia arrived in the Kābul valley he sent a

<sup>1</sup> Invasion of Alexander, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Chinnock's Edition, p. 403.

<sup>3</sup> Chinnock, Arrian's Anabasis of Alexander and Indica, p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> H. & F.'s Ed. III, p. 90.

herald to Taxiles to bid him come and meet him. Taxiles accordingly did come to meet him, bringing valuable gifts. When he died his son Mophis or Omphis (Sanskrit Āmbhi) succeeded to the government. Curiously enough Kautilya, himself a native of Taxila according to the *Mahāvārīsa Tīkā*, refers to a school of political philosophers called Āmbhiyas, and Dr. F. W. Thomas connects them with Taxila.<sup>1</sup>

### 7. Abhisara :

Strabo observes<sup>2</sup> that the kingdom was situated among the mountains above the Taxila country. The position of this state was correctly defined by Stein who pointed out that Dārvābhīsāra (*cf.* *Mbl.* VII, 91, 43) comprised the whole tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Jihlam and the Chinsh. Roughly speaking it corresponded to the Punch and Nao-shera districts in Kaśmir, and was probably an offshoot of the old Kingdom of Kamboja. Abisares, the contemporary of Alexander, was a shrewd politician of the type of Charles Emanuel III of Sardinia. When the Macedonian invader arrived he informed him that he was ready to surrender himself and the land which he ruled. And yet before the battle which was fought between Alexander and the famous Poros, Abisares intended to join his forces with those of the latter.<sup>3</sup>

### 8. The kingdom of Arsakes :

It represents the Sanskrit *Urasa*, the modern Hazāra district. It adjoined the realm of Abisares, and was probably, like the latter, an offshoot of the old kingdom of Kamboja. *Urasā* is mentioned in several Kharoshṭhi

<sup>1</sup> *Bṛhatśāstra Arthāśāstra*, Introduction, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> E. & P., Ed. III, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 276.

Inscriptions, and, in the time of the Geographer Ptolemy, absorbed the neighbouring realm of Taxila.

#### 9. The kingdom of the Elder Poros :

It lay between the Jihlam and the Chināb and roughly corresponded to the modern districts of Jihlam, Guzrāt and Shāhpur.<sup>1</sup> Strabo tells us<sup>2</sup> that it was an extensive and fertile district containing nearly 300 cities. Diodoros informs us<sup>3</sup> that Poros had an army of more than 50,000 foot, above 3,000 horse, about 1,000 chariots, and 130 elephants. He was in alliance with Embisaros, *i.e.*, the king of Abhisāra.

Poros probably represents the Sanskrit Pūru or **Paurava**. In the Rig Veda the Pūrus are expressly mentioned as on the Sarasvati. In the time of Alexander, however, we find them on the Hydaspes (Jihlam). The Brīhat Samhīta, too, (xiv. 27) associates the 'Pauravas,' with 'Madraka' and 'Mālava.' The Mahābhārata also refers to a "Puram Paurava-rakshitam" which lay not far from Kaśmīra (Sabbha, 27, 15-17). It is suggested in the Vedic Index (Vol. II, pp. 12-13) that either the Hydaspes was the earlier home of the Pūrus, where some remained after the others had wandered east, or the later Pūrus represent a successful onslaught upon the west from the east.

#### 10. The country of the people called **Glauganikai**<sup>4</sup> (Glauganicians) by Aristobulus, and Glausians by Ptolemy :

This territory was conterminous with the dominion of Poros.<sup>5</sup> It contained no less than seven and thirty cities,

<sup>1</sup> It apparently included the old territory of Kekaya.

<sup>2</sup> H. & F.'s Ed. III, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Invasion of Alexander, p. 974.

<sup>4</sup> With the second part of the name may be compared that of the Sanakāñjas of the Gupta period. Mr Jayawal who restores the name as Glauchukiyana does not apparently take note of this fact.

<sup>5</sup> Chinook, Arrian, p. 275.

the smallest of which contained not fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, while many contained upwards of 10,000.

### 11. **Gandaris:**

It lay between the Chināb and the Rāvi and (if Strabo has given the correct name of the territory) probably represented the easternmost part of the old Mahājanapada of Gandhāra.<sup>1</sup> It was ruled by the Younger Poros, nephew of the monarch who ruled the territory between the Jihlam and the Chināb.

### 12. The **Adraistai** (Adrijas? Mbh. VII. 159. 5):<sup>2</sup>

They dwelt on the eastern side of the Hydراotes or the Rāvi, and their main stronghold was Pimprana.

### 13. **Kathaioi** or Cathaeans:

Strabo says,<sup>3</sup> "some writers place Cathaia and the country of Sopeithes, one of the monarchs, in the tract between the rivers (Hydaspes and Acesines, i.e., the Jihlam and the Chināb); some on the other side of the Acesines and of the Hyarotis, on the confines of the territory of the other Poros, the nephew of Poros who was taken prisoner by Alexander." The Kathaioi probably represent the Sanskrit Kantha (Pāṇini, II. 4. 20), Katha (Jolly, SBE., VII, 15) or Krātha (Mbh. VIII. S5. 16). They were the head of the confederacy of independent tribes dwelling in the territory of which the centre was Sāngala. This town was probably situated in the Gurudāspur district, not far from Fathgarh.<sup>4</sup> Anspach locates it at Jandiāla.

<sup>1</sup> But see Camb. Hist. Ind., I, 270, n. 4; the actual name of the territory in older times was, however, Madea.

<sup>2</sup> Tāndheyein Adrijas Rājān Madrakān Māharājān apī.

<sup>3</sup> H. and F.'s Ed. III, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> JRAS., 1903, p. 687.

The Kathaians enjoyed the highest reputation for courage and skill in the art of war. Onesikritos tells us that in Kathaias the handsomest man was chosen as king.<sup>1</sup>

#### 14. The kingdom of Sophytes (Saubhūti):

In the opinion of Smith, the position of this kingdom is fixed by the remark of Strabo<sup>2</sup> that it included a mountain composed of fossil salt sufficient for the whole of India; Sophytes was, therefore, according to him, the "lord of the fastnesses of the Salt Range stretching from Jhilam to the Indus." But we have already seen that the classical writers agree in placing Sophytes' kingdom east of the Jhilam. Curtius tells us<sup>3</sup> that the nation ruled by Sopeithes (Sophytes), in the opinion of the "barbarians," excelled in wisdom, and lived under good laws and customs. They did not acknowledge and rear children according to the will of the parents, but as the officers entrusted with the medical inspection of infants might direct, for if they remarked anything deformed or defective in the limbs of a child they ordered it to be killed. In contracting marriages they did not seek an alliance with high birth, but made their choice by the looks, for beauty in the children was highly appreciated. Strabo informs us<sup>4</sup> that the dogs in the territory of Sopeithes (Sophytes) were said to possess remarkable courage. We have some coins of Sophytes bearing on the obverse the head of the king, and on the reverse the figure of a cock. Strabo calls Sophytes a nomarch which probably indicates that he was not an independent sovereign, but only a viceroy of some other king.

<sup>1</sup> McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> R. and F. 3 Ed. III, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Invasion of India by Alexander, p. 219.

<sup>4</sup> R. and F., III, p. 43.

## 15. The kingdom of Phegelas or Phegeus:

It lay between the Hydraotes (Rāvi) and the Hyphasis (Bias). The name of the king, Phegelas, probably represents the Sanskrit Bhagala—the name of a royal race of Kshatriyas mentioned in the Ganapatha.<sup>1</sup>

## 16. The Siboi:

They were the inhabitants of the Shorkot region in Jhang. They were probably identical with the Śiva people mentioned in a passage of the Rig Veda (VII. 18. 7) where they share with the Alinas, Pakthas, Bhalānases, and Visāgins the honour of being defeated by Sudās.<sup>2</sup> The Jātakas mention a Sivi country and its cities Arīthapura<sup>3</sup> and Jetuttara.<sup>4</sup> It is probable that Śiva, Sivi and Siboi were one and the same people. A place called Śiva-pura, is mentioned by the Scholiast on Pāṇini as situated in the northern country.<sup>5</sup> It is, doubtless, identical with Śibipura mentioned in a Shorkot inscription edited by Vogel. In the opinion of that scholar the mound of Shorkot marks the site of this city of the Śibis.<sup>6</sup>

The Siboi dressed themselves with the skins of wild beasts, and had clubs for their weapons. The nation had 40,000 foot soldiers in the time of Alexander.

The Mahābhārata (III. 130-131) refers to a *rāshṭra* of the Śivis ruled by king Uśinara, which lay not far from the Yamunā. It is not altogether improbable that the Uśinara<sup>7</sup> country was at one time the home of the

<sup>1</sup> Invasion of Alexander, p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> Vedic Index, Vol. II, pp. 391-392.

<sup>3</sup> Ummadikā Jātaka, No. 527; cf. Pāṇini, VI. 2. 100.

<sup>4</sup> Vassanīra Jātaka, No. 547. See ante, p. 129, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Pāṇini, IV. 2. 2; Vedic Ind., II, p. 382.

<sup>6</sup> Ep. Ind., 1921, p. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Vide pp. 38, 39, ante.

Sivis. We find them also in Sind, in Madhyamikā in Rājaputana,<sup>1</sup> and, in the Daśa-kumāra-charita, on the banks of the Kāverī.<sup>2</sup>

#### 17. The Agalassoi :

They lived near the Siboi, and could muster an army of 40,000 foot and 3,000 horse.

#### 18. The Sudracae or Oxydrakai :

They were settled between the Hydraotes (Rāvi) and the Hyphasis (Bias), in the territory probably included within the Montgomery District. Their name represents the Sanskrit **Kshudraka**.<sup>3</sup> They were one of the most numerous and warlike of all the Indian tribes in the Pañjab. Arrian in one passage refers to the "leading men of their cities and their provincial governors" besides other eminent men. These words afford us a glimpse into the internal condition of this and similar tribes.

#### 19. The Malloi :

They occupied the valley of the lower Hydraotes (Rāvi), on both banks of the river. Their name represents the Sanskrit **Malava**. According to Weber, Āpiśali (according to Jayaswal, Kātyāyana) speaks of the formation of the compound—"Kshaudraka-Mālava."<sup>4</sup> Smith points out that the Mahābhārata coupled the tribes in question as forming part of the Kaurava host in the Kurukshetra war.<sup>5</sup> Curtius tells us<sup>6</sup> that the Sudracae

<sup>1</sup> Vaidya, Med. Hind. Ind. I, p. 162; Chish. Soc., 1918, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> The southern Sivis are probably to be identified with the Chola ruling family (Eckelb., List of Southern Inscriptions, No. 985).

<sup>3</sup> Mbh. II, 62.16 ; VII, 69.9.

<sup>4</sup> EBI., 1914, p. 94 n.; Mbh. VI, 59.135.

<sup>5</sup> Invasion of Alexander, p. 234.

and the Malli had an army consisting of 90,000 foot soldiers, 10,000 cavalry and 900 war chariots.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar informs us that Pāṇini refers to the Mālavas as living by the profession of arms.<sup>1</sup> In later times they are found in Rājaputāna, Avanti and the Mahi valley.

#### 20. The Abastanoi :

Diodorus calls them the Sambastai,<sup>2</sup> Arrian Abastanoi, Curtius Sabarcae, and Orosius Sabagras. They were settled on the lower Akesines. Their name represents the Sanskrit Ambashtha. The Ambashthas are mentioned in several Sanskrit and Pāli works. An Ambashtha king is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 21), whose priest was Nārada. The *Mahābhārata* (II. 52. 14-15) mentions the Ambashthas along with the Śivis, Kshudrakas, Malavas and other north-western tribes. The Purāṇas represent them as Ānava Kshatriyas and kinsmen of the Śivis.<sup>3</sup> In the *Bṛahmapatya Arthaśāstra*,<sup>4</sup> the Ambashtha country is mentioned in conjunction with Sind :

Kāśmīra-Hūn-Āmbashtha-Sindhavah.

In the Ambattha Sutta,<sup>5</sup> an Ambattha is called a Brāhmaṇa. In the Smṛti literature, on the other hand, Ambashtha denotes a man of mixed Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśya parentage. According to Jātaka IV. 363, the Ambatthas were farmers. It seems that the Ambashthas were a tribe who were at first mainly a fighting race, but some of whom took to other occupations, viz., those of

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., 1913, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> Invasion of Alexander, p. 292.

<sup>3</sup> Pargiter, AHZ, pp. 108, 109.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Prof. W. Thaman, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, p. 109.

priests, farmers, and according to the Smṛiti writers, physicians (*Ambashṭhanam chikitsitam*, Manu, X. 47).

In the time of Alexander, the Ambashṭhas were a powerful tribe having a democratic government. Their army consisted of 60,000 foot, 6,000 cavalry and 500 chariots.<sup>1</sup>

In later times the Ambashṭhas are found in South-Eastern India near the Mekala range, and also in Bihar and Bengal.<sup>2</sup>

#### 21-22. The *Xathroi* and the *Ossadioi* :

The *Xathroi* are according to McCrindle<sup>3</sup> the *Kshatri* of Sanskrit Literature mentioned in the Laws of Manu as an impure tribe, being of mixed origin. V. de Saint-Martin suggests that in the *Ossadioi* we have the *Vasati* of the Mahābhārata,<sup>4</sup> a tribe associated with the *Sibis* and *Sindhu-Sauviras*.<sup>5</sup>

#### 23-24. The *Sodrai* (*Sogdoi*) and the *Massanoi* :

They occupied Northern Sind. The *Sodrai* are the *Sūdras* of Sanskrit literature, a people constantly associated with the *Ābhiras* who were settled near the Sarasvati.<sup>6</sup>

#### 25. The kingdom of *Mousikanos*:<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Invasion of Alexander, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ptolemy, Ind. Ant., XIII. 361; *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* XIV. 7; 'Mukhaśmashita' of Mārkandeya P., LVIII. 16, is a corruption of Mekal-Ambashṭha. Cf. also the Ambashṭha Kāyantha of Bihar, and the *Vaidyas* of Bengal whom Bharata Mallha classes as Ambashṭhas.

<sup>3</sup> Invasion of Alexander, p. 158 n.

<sup>4</sup> VII, 19.11 ; 83.37 ; VIII, 44.49.

<sup>5</sup> "Abhishūbhī Śārasenāḥ Sivyo'tha Vaśīṣṭayal" (Mbh. VI. 106.8.)

"Vaśī Śindhu Śauviraś iti prayo'nkeśanti"

"Gādhabhūbhī Śindhu-Śauviraḥ Sivyo'tha Vaśīṣṭayal" (Mbh., VI. 51.14).

<sup>6</sup> Pāṇḍājīl, I, 2.8; MBh., VII. 19. 6 ; IX. 37.1.

<sup>7</sup> Heron in Camb. Hist. Ind., p. 377, restores the name as *Mishika*. Mr. Jayawar in his Hindu Polity suggests *Muchukurpa*.

It included a large part of modern Sind. Its capital has been identified with Alor in the Sukkur district. The following characteristics of the inhabitants of the kingdom of Mousikanos are noticed by Strabo.<sup>1</sup>

"The following are their peculiarities: to have a kind of Lacedæmonian common meal, where they eat in public. Their food consists of what is taken in the chase. They make no use of gold nor silver, although they have mines of these metals. Instead of slaves, they employed youths in the flower of their age, as the Cretans employ the Aphamiotæ, and the Lacedæmonians the Helots. They study no science with attention but that of medicine; for they consider the excessive pursuit of some arts, as that of war, and the like to be committing evil. There is no process at law but against murder and outrage, for it is not in a person's own power to escape either one or the other; but as contracts are in the power of each individual, he must endure the wrong, if good faith is violated by another; for a man should be cautious whom he trusts, and not disturb the city with constant disputes in courts of justice."

From the account left by Arrian it appears that the "Brachmans," *i.e.*, the Brâhmaṇas exercised considerable influence in the country. They were the instigators of a revolt against the Macedonian invader.<sup>2</sup>

#### 26. The principality of Oxykanos:

Curtius calls the subjects of Oxykanos the Praesti (**Proshthas?** Mbh. VI. 9.61). Oxykanos himself is called both by Strabo and Diodorus Portikanos. Cunningham places his territory to the west of the Indus in the level country around Larkhāna.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. and F., III, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Chinnock, Arrian, p. 319.

<sup>3</sup> Invasion of Alexander, p. 158.

27. The principality of Sambos:<sup>1</sup>

Sambos was the ruler of a mountainous country adjoining the kingdom of Monsikanos, with whom he was at feud. His capital, called Sindimana, has been identified with Sehwan, a city on the Indus.<sup>2</sup>

28. Patalene:

It was the Indus delta, and took its name from the capital city, Patala, at or near the site of Bahmanabad.

Diodorus tells us<sup>3</sup> that Tanala (Patala) had a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan; for in this community the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of different houses, while a Council of Elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority. One of the kings in the time of Alexander was called Moeres.<sup>4</sup>

The states described above had little tendency to unity or combination. Curtius tells us<sup>5</sup> that Ambhi, king of Taxila, was at war with Abisares and Poros. Arrian informs us that Poros and Abisares were not only enemies of Taxila but also of the neighbouring autonomous tribes. On one occasion the two kings marched against the Kshudrakas and the Malavas.<sup>6</sup> Arrian further tells us that the relations between Poros and his nephew were far from friendly. Sambos and Monsikanos were also on hostile terms. Owing to these struggles and dissensions amongst the petty states, an invader had no common resistance to fear; and he could be assured that many would welcome him out of hatred for their neighbours.

<sup>1</sup> Sambha, according to Bevan (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, 877). Samba is a possible alternative.

<sup>2</sup> McGrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 404.

<sup>3</sup> Inv. Alex., p. 296.

<sup>4</sup> Inv. Alex., p. 256.

<sup>5</sup> Inv. Alex., p. 202.

<sup>6</sup> Chinnock, Arrian, p. 279.

The Nandas of Magadha do not appear to have made any attempt to subjugate these states of the Uttarāpatha. The task of reducing them was reserved for a foreign conqueror, viz., Alexander of Macedon. The tale of Alexander's conquest has been told by many historians including Arrian, Q. Curtius Rufus, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch and Justin. We learn from Curtius that Scythians and Dahae served in the Macedonian army.<sup>1</sup> The expedition led by Alexander was thus a combined Śaka-Yavana expedition. The invader met with no such general confederacy of the native powers like the one formed by the East Indian states against Kūṇika-Ajataśatru. On the contrary he obtained assistance from many important chiefs like Ambhi of Taxila, Sangaeus (Sañjaya?) of Pushkaravati, Kophales or Cophaeus (of the Kabul region?), Assagetes (Āsvajit?), and Sisikottos (Śāśigupta) who got as his reward the satrapy of the Assakenians.<sup>2</sup> The only princes or peoples who thought of combining against the invader were Poros and Abisares, and the Mālavas (Malloi), Kshudrakas (Oxydrakai), and the neighbouring autonomous tribes. Even in the latter case personal jealousies prevented any effective results. Alexander met with stubborn resistance from individual chiefs and clans, notably from Astes (Hasti or Ashtaka?), the Aspasians, the Assakenians, the elder Poros, the Kathaians, the Malloi, the Oxydrakai, and the Brāhmaṇas of the kingdom of Mousikanos. Massaga, the stronghold of the Assakenians, was stormed with great difficulty, Poros was defeated on the banks of the Hydaspes (B. C. 326), the Malloi and the Oxydrakai were also no doubt crushed. But Alexander found that his Indian antagonists were different from the effete troops of Persia. Diodorus

<sup>1</sup> Inv. Alex., p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Inv. Alex., p. 112.

informs us<sup>1</sup> that at Massaga, where Alexander treacherously massacred the mercenaries, "the women, taking the arms of the fallen, fought side by side with the men." Poros, when he saw most of his forces scattered, his elephants lying dead or straying riderless, did not flee—as Darius Codomannus had twice fled—but remained fighting, seated on an elephant of commanding height, and received nine wounds before he was taken prisoner.<sup>2</sup> The Malloi almost succeeded in killing the Macedonian king. But all this was of no avail. A disunited people could not long resist the united forces of the Hellenic world led by the greatest captain of ancient Europe. Alexander succeeded in conquering the old Persian satrapies of Gandhāra and "India," but was unable to try conclusions with Agrammes king of the Gangarides and the Prasii, *i.e.*, the last Nanda king of Magadha and the other Gangetic provinces. Plutarch informs us that the battle with Poros depressed the spirits of the Macedonians and made them very unwilling to advance further into India. Moreover they were afraid of the "Gandaritai and the Praisai" who were reported to be waiting for Alexander with an army of 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8,000 war-chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants. As a matter of fact when Alexander was retreating through Karmania he received a report that his satrap Philippos had been murdered. Shortly afterwards the Macedonian garrison was overpowered. The departure of Eudemus (cir. 317 B. C.) marks the final collapse of the Macedonian attempt to establish an empire in India.

The only permanent effect of Alexander's raid seems to have been the establishment of a number of Yona settlements in the Uttarāpatha. The most important of these settlements were:

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid. Alex.*, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bay. *Griech.*, pp. 428-429.

1. The city of Alexandria (modern Charikar or Opian) in the land of the Parapanisadas, i.e., the Kabul region.
2. Boukephala, on the spot whence the Macedonian king had started to cross the Hydaspes (Jihiam).
3. Nikaias, where the battle with Poros took place.
4. Alexandria in Sind, in the vicinity of the countries of the Sodrai or Sogdoi, and Massanoi, who occupied the banks of the Indus.<sup>1</sup>

Aśoka recognised the existence of Yona settlers on the northern fringe of his empire, and appointed some of them (e.g. the Yavanarija Tushāspa) to high offices of state. Boukephala Alexandria flourished as late as the time of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*.<sup>2</sup> One of the Alexandrias (Alasaonda) is mentioned in the *Mahāvaiśa*.<sup>3</sup>

Alexander's invasion produced one indirect result. It helped the cause of Indian unity by destroying the power of the petty states of north-west India, just as the Danish invasion helped the union of England under Wessex by destroying the independence of Northumbria and Mercia. If Ugrasena-Mahipadma was the precursor of Chandragupta Maurya in the east, Alexander was the forerunner of that emperor in the north-west.

#### THE MAURYA EMPIRE; THE ERA OF DIGVIJAYA.

##### *I. The Reign of Chandragupta Maurya.*

In B.C. 326 the flood of Macedonian invasion had overwhelmed the Indian states of the Pañjab, and was threatening to burst upon the Madhyadeśa. Agrammes was confronted with a crisis not unlike that which Arminius had to face when Varus carried the Roman eagle to the Teutoburg Forest, or which Charles Martel

<sup>1</sup> Inv. Alex., pp. 238, 252.

<sup>2</sup> Schöff's Ed., p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Geiger's Ed., p. 194.

had to face when the Saracens carried the Crescent to the field of Tours. The question whether India was, or was not, to be Hellenized awaited decision.

Agrammes was fortunate enough to escape the onslaught of Alexander. But it is doubtful whether he had the ability or perhaps the inclination to play the part of an Arminius or a Charles Martel, had the occasion arisen. But there was at this time another Indian who was made of different stuff. This was Chandragupta, the Sandrocottus of the classical writers. The rise of Chandragupta is thus described by Justin.<sup>1</sup>

"India after the death of Alexander had shaken, as it were, the yoke of servitude from its neck and put his governors to death. The author of this liberation was Sandrocottus. This man was of mean origin but was stimulated to aspire to regal power by supernatural encouragement; for having offended Alexander by his boldness of speech and orders being given to kill him, he saved himself by swiftness of foot; and while he was lying asleep, after his fatigue, a lion of great size having come up to him licked off with his tongue the sweat that was running from him, and after gently waking him, left him. Being first prompted by this prodigy to conceive hopes of royal dignity he drew together a band of robbers, and solicited the Indians to support his new sovereignty. Sometime after, as he was going to war with the generals of Alexander, a wild elephant of great bulk presented itself before him of its own accord and, as tamed down to gentleness, took him on his back and became his guide in the war and conspicuous in fields of battle. Sandrocottus having thus acquired a throne was in possession of India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness."

<sup>1</sup> Waism's Ed., p. 142

The above account, born of its marvellous element amounts to this, that Chandragupta, a man of non-monarchical rank, placed himself at the head of the Indians who chased under the Macedonian yoke, and after Alexander's departure defeated his generals and "shook the yoke of servitude from the neck" of India. The verdict of the Hydaspes was thus reversed.

The ancestry of Chandragupta is not known for certain. Hindu tradition connects him with the Nanda dynasty of Magadha. Jaina tradition recorded in the *Parisishtaparvan* (p. 56) represents him as the son of a daughter of the chief of the village of Mayuraposhaka. The *Mahāvamśa*<sup>1</sup> calls him a scion of the Moriya clan. In the *Divyāvadāna*<sup>2</sup> Bindusara, the son of Chandragupta, claims to be a Kshatriya Mūrdhābhishikta. In the same work (p. 409) Aśoka, the son of Bindusara, calls himself a Kshatriya. In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*<sup>3</sup> the Moriyas are represented as the ruling clan of Pippalivana, and as belonging to the Kshatriya caste. As the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* is the most ancient of the works referred to above, and as it belongs to the early Buddhist period its evidence must be accepted as authentic. It is, therefore, practically certain that Chandragupta belonged to a Kshatriya community, *viz.*, the Moriya (Maurya) clan.

In the sixth century B. C. the Moriyas were the ruling clan of the little republic of Pippalivana. They must have been absorbed into the Magadhan empire along with the other states of Eastern India. During the inglorious reign of Agrammes, when there was general disaffection amongst his subjects, the Moriyas evidently came into prominence, probably under the leadership of

<sup>1</sup> Geiger's Translation, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Cowell and Neill's Ed., p. 370.

<sup>3</sup> SBE XI, pp. 134-85.

Chandragupta. These clansmen were no longer rulers, and were merely Magadhan subjects. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that Justin calls Chandragupta a man of humble origin. Plutarch, as well as Justin, informs us that Chandragupta paid a visit to Alexander. Plutarch says<sup>1</sup> "Androkottus himself, who was then a lad, saw Alexander himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander might easily have conquered the whole country, as the then king was hated by his subjects on account of his mean and wicked disposition." From this passage it is not unreasonable to infer that Chandragupta visited Alexander with the intention of inducing the conqueror to put an end to the rule of the tyrant of Magadha. His conduct may be compared to that of Rājā Saṅgrāma Simha who helped Bābar to put an end to the rule of Ibrāhim Lodi.<sup>2</sup> Apparently Chandragupta found Alexander as great a tyrant as Agrammes, for we learn from Justin that the Macedonian king did not scruple to give orders to kill the intrepid Indian lad for his boldness of speech. The young Maurya apparently thought of ridding his country of both the tyrants, Macedonian as well as Indian. With the help of Kautilya, also called Chānakya or Viśiṣṭugupta, son of a Brāhmaṇa of Taxila, he overthrew the infamous Nanda. Traditional accounts of the conflict between Chandragupta and the last Nanda are preserved in the *Milindapañho*, the *Purānas*, the *Maṇḍrārakshasa*, the *Mahāvastu* *Tikā* and the Jaina *Paṇīśiṣṭaparvan*. The *Milindapañho*<sup>3</sup> tells us that the Nanda army was commanded by Bhaddasāla. The Nanda troops were evidently defeated with great slaughter, an exaggerated account of which is preserved in the *Milindapañho*.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Alexander*, LXII.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding the conduct of Saṅgrāma Simha, see *Tādū Rajasthān*, Vol. I, p. 240 n. (2).

<sup>3</sup> SBE, Vol. XXXVI, p. 147.

"Sometime after" his acquisition of sovereignty, Chandragupta went to war with the prefects or generals of Alexander<sup>1</sup> and crushed their power.

The overthrow of the Nandas, and the liberation of the Panjab were not the only achievements of the great Maurya. Plutarch tells us<sup>2</sup> that he overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men. Justin also informs us that he was "in possession of India." In his "Beginnings of South Indian History," Chapter II, Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar shows that Māmulanār, an ancient Tamil author, makes frequent allusions to the Mauryas in the past having penetrated with a great army as far as the Podiyil Hill in the Tinnevelly district. The statements of this author are supported by Paranar or Param Korranar and Kallil Attiraiyanār. The advanced party of the invasion was composed of a warlike people called Kośar (Kośalas?). The invaders advanced from the Konkan passing the hills Elilmalai, about sixteen miles north of Cannanore, and entered the Kongu (Coimbatore) district, ultimately going as far as the Podiyil Hill. Unfortunately the name of the Maurya leader is not given. But the expression "Vamba Moriyar" or Maurya upstarts<sup>3</sup> would seem to suggest that the first Maurya, i.e., Chaudragupta was meant.<sup>4</sup>

Certain Mysore Inscriptions refer to Chandragupta's rule in north Mysore. Thus one inscription says that Nagakanda in the Shikarpur Taluk was protected by the wise Chandragupta, "an abode of the usages of eminent

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Smith, *Arama*, third edition, p. 14 n.

<sup>2</sup> Alex. LXII.

<sup>3</sup> *Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Barnett suggests (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, 598) that the "Vamba Moriyar" or "Bastard Mauryas"<sup>5</sup> were possibly a branch of the Konkan Mauryas. For other suggestions, see *J.R.A.S.*, 1923, pp. 93-96.

Kshatriyas."<sup>1</sup> This is of the fourteenth century and little reliance can be placed upon it. But when the statements of Plutarch, Justin, Nāgārjuna, and the Mysore inscriptions referred to by Rice, are read together they seem to suggest that the first Manya did conquer a considerable portion of trans-Vindhyan India.

Whatever we may think of Chandragupta's connection with Southern India, there can be no doubt that he pushed his conquests as far as Surashtra in Western India. The Junagadh Rock Inscription of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman refers to his Rāshtriya or High Commissioner, Pushyugupta, the Vaisya, who constructed the famous Sudarśana Lake.<sup>2</sup>

### The Seleukidan War.

We learn from Justin<sup>3</sup> that when Chandragupta was in possession of Indus Seleukos (Seleucus), a general of Alexander, was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleukos was the son of Antiochus, a distinguished general of Philip of Macedon, and his wife Laodice. After the division of the Macedonian Empire among the followers of Alexander he carried on several wars in the east. He first took Babylon, and then, his strength being increased by this success, subdued the Bactrians. He next made an expedition into India. Appianus says<sup>4</sup> that he crossed the Indus and waged war on Chandragupta, king of the Indians, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him. Justin also

<sup>1</sup> Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> The subjugation of the whole of Northern India (Udīch) from the Himalaya to the sea is probably suggested by the following passage in the Kāntīkya Arthaśāstra (IX. 1), "Dekṣaṇa Prithivī; īasya; Himavat; Sounḍarāśaram; Udīchānush; yojanā; abhāsi; parimūnam; śīryek; Chakravarti-Kalāntaram."

<sup>3</sup> Watson's Ed., p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 114.

observes that after making a league with Chandragupta, and settling his affairs in the east, Seleukos proceeded to join in the war against Antigonus. Plutarch supplies us with the information that Chandragupta presented 500 elephants to Seleukos. More important details are given by Strabo who says :<sup>1</sup>

"The Indians occupy (in part) some of the countries situated along the Indus, which formerly belonged to the Persians: Alexander deprived the Ariani of them, and established there settlements of his own. But Seleucus Nicator gave them to Sandrocottus in consequence of a marriage contract, and received in turn 500 elephants." "The Indians occupied a larger portion of Ariana, which they had received from the Macedonians."<sup>2</sup>

It will be seen that the classical writers do not give us any detailed record of the actual conflict between Seleukos and Chandragupta. They merely speak of the results. There can be no doubt that the invader could not make much headway, and concluded an alliance which was cemented by a marriage contract. In his *Asoka*<sup>3</sup> Dr. Smith rightly observes that the current notion that the Syrian king 'gave his daughter in marriage' to Chandragupta is not warranted by the evidence, which testifies merely to a 'matrimonial alliance.' The Indian Emperor obtained some of the countries situated along the Indus which formerly belonged to the Persians, together with the larger portion of Ariana, "giving in exchange the comparatively small recompense of 500 elephants." Dr. Smith adduces good grounds for believing that the territory ceded by the Syrian king included the four satrapies: Aria, Arachosia, Gedrosia and the Paropanisadai, i. e., Herāt, Kandahār, Makrān and Kābul. The inclusion of the Kābul valley within the Maurya Empire is proved by the inscriptions of Asoka, the grandson of

<sup>1</sup> H. & F., III, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> Third Ed., p. 15.

Chandragupta, which speak of the Yonas and Gandhāras as vassals of the Empire.

### Megasthenes.

We learn from the classical writers that after the war the Syrian and Indian emperors lived on friendly terms. Athenaeus tells us that Chandragupta sent presents including certain powerful aphrodisiacs to the Syrian monarch.<sup>1</sup> Seleukos sent an envoy to the Maurya court, whose name was Megasthenes. Arrian tells us<sup>2</sup> that Megasthenes originally lived with Sibyrtios the satrap of Arachosia. He was sent from thence to Pataliputra where he often visited the Maurya Emperor, and wrote a history on Indian affairs. The work of Megasthenes has been lost. The fragments that survive in quotations by later authors like Strabo, Arrian, Diodorus and others, have been collected by Schwanbeck, and translated by McCrindle. As Professor Rhys Davids observes, Megasthenes possessed very little critical judgment, and was, therefore, often misled by wrong information received from others. But he is a truthful witness concerning matters which came under his personal observation. The most important piece of information supplied by him is, as Rhys Davids has pointed out, the description of Pataliputra which Arrian quotes in Chapter X of his *Indica*:

"The largest city in India, named Palimbothra, is in the land of the Prasians, where is the confluence of the river Erannobaos<sup>3</sup> and the Ganges, which is the greatest of rivers.....Megasthenes says that on one side where it is longest this city extends 80 stades (9½ miles)

<sup>1</sup> Inv. Alex., p. 406.

<sup>2</sup> Chinnock's Ed., p. 284.

<sup>3</sup> Erannobaos=Hinayavīha, i.e., the Son. Cf. "Anuśopadī Pāṭaliputradī"  
(Patañjali II. 1.2).

in length, and that its breadth is fifteen ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles) ; that the city has been surrounded with a ditch in breadth 6 plethra (606 feet), and in depth 30 cubits ; and that its wall has 570 towers and 64 gates."<sup>1</sup>

There were many other cities in the empire besides Pataliputra. Arrian says "it would not be possible to record with accuracy the number of their cities on account of their multiplicity. Those which are situated near the rivers or the sea are built of wood ; for if they were built of brick they could not long endure on account of the rain and because the rivers overflowing their banks fill the plains with water. But those which have been founded in commanding places, lofty and raised above the adjacent country, are built of brick and mortar." The most important cities of Chandragupta's empire, besides the metropolis, were Taxila, Ujjain and Kausambi.

Aelian gives the following account of the palace of Chandragupta. "In the Indian royal palace where the greatest of all the kings of the country resides, besides much else which is calculated to excite admiration, and with which neither Susa, nor Ecbatana can vie (for, methinks, only the well-known vanity of the Persians could prompt such a comparison), there are other wonders besides. In the parks tame peacocks are kept, and pheasants which have been domesticated ; there are shady groves and pasture grounds planted with trees, and branches of trees which the art of the woodsman has deftly interwoven ; while some trees are native to the soil, others are brought from other parts, and with their beauty enhance the charms of the landscape. Parrots are natives of the country, and keep hovering about the king and wheeling round him, and vast though their numbers be, no Indian ever eats a parrot. The Brachmans honour them highly

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Patañjali, IV, 4.2, "Pāṭaliputrakṣaḥ prasādah Pāṭaliputrakṣaḥ pūrṇaḥ sū."

above all other birds—because the parrot alone can imitate human speech. Within the palace grounds are artificial ponds in which they keep fish of enormous size but quite tame. No one has permission to fish for these except the king's sons while yet in their boyhood. These youngsters amuse themselves while fishing in the unruffled sheet of water and learning how to sail their boats."<sup>1</sup>

The imperial palace probably stood close to the modern village of Kumrahār.<sup>2</sup> The unearthing of the ruins of the Maurya pillar-hall and palace near Kumrahār, said to have been built on the model of the throne room and palace of Darius at Persepolis, has led Dr. Spooner to propound the theory that the Mauryas were Zoroastrians.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Smith observes that the resemblance of the Maurya buildings with the Persian palace at Persepolis is not yet definitely established. Besides, as Professor Chanda observes, "Ethnologists do not recognize high class architecture as test of race, and in the opinion of experts the buildings of Darius and Xerxes at Persepolis are not Persian in style, but are mainly dependent on Babylonian models and bear traces of the influence of Greece, Egypt and Asia Minor."

We learn from Strabo<sup>4</sup> that the king usually remained within the palace under the protection of female guards (*qf. stri gapair dhanvibhiḥ* of the *Arthashastra*) and appeared in public only on four occasions, *viz.*, in time of war : to sit in his court as a judge ; to offer sacrifice ; and to go on hunting expeditions.

### Chandragupta's Government.

Chandragupta was not only a great soldier and conqueror, he was a great administrator. Megasthenes, the

<sup>1</sup> McGrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 141-42.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 77. Macphail, *Aśoka*, pp. 23-25.

<sup>3</sup> J.R.A.S., 1915, pp. 63 ff., 405 ff.

<sup>4</sup> H. & F.'s Ed., Vol. III, p. 108 ; cf. Smith, *EHI*, p. 123.

Greek ambassador at his court, has left detailed accounts of his system of government. The edicts of his grandson Aśoka and the *Arthaśāstra* attributed to his minister Kauṭilya confirm in many respects the particulars of the organisation of the empire given by the distinguished envoy.

The supreme Government consisted of two main parts :

1. The Rāja, and
2. the "Councillors" and "Assessors" (Mahāmātras, and Amātyas or Sachivas).

The Rāja or sovereign was the head of the state. He had military, judicial, legislative, as well as executive functions. We have already seen that one of the occasions when he left his palace was war.<sup>1</sup> He considered plans of military operations with his Senāpati.<sup>2</sup>

He also sat in his court to administer justice. "He remains there all day thus occupied, not suffering himself to be interrupted even though the time arrives for attending to his person. This attention to his person consists of friction with pieces of wood, and he continues to listen to the cause, while the friction is performed by four attendants who surround him."<sup>3</sup> Kauṭilya says,<sup>4</sup> "when in the court, he (the king) shall never cause his petitioners to wait at the door, for when a king makes himself inaccessible to his people and entrusts his work to his immediate officers, he may be sure to engender confusion in business, and to cause thereby public disaffection, and himself a prey to his enemies. He shall, therefore, personally attend to the business of gods, of heretics, of Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas, of cattle, of sacred places, of minors, the aged, the afflicted, the helpless and of women ;—all this in order

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Strabo, XV, 1; and Kauṭilya, Bk. X. <sup>2</sup> Kant, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> H. & F. Strabo, III, pp. 106-107. <sup>4</sup> Shumansky's translation, p. 43.

(of enumeration) or according to the urgency or pressure of those works. All urgent calls he shall hear at once."

As to the king's legislative function we should note that Kautilya<sup>1</sup> calls him "dharma-pravartaka," and includes *Rajasasana* among the sources of law. As instances of royal "Sāsanas" or rescripts may be mentioned the Edicts of Aśoka, the famous grandson of Chandragupta.

Among **executive functions** of the king, our authorities mention the posting of watchmen, attending to the accounts of receipts and expenditure, appointment of ministers, priests and superintendents, correspondence with the Mantriparishad, collection of the secret information gathered by spies, reception of envoys, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Kautilya holds that Rajatva (sovereignty) is possible only with assistance.<sup>3</sup> A single wheel can never move. Hence the king shall employ Sachivas and hear their opinion. The *Sachivas* or *Amatyas* of Kautilya correspond to the "seventh caste" of Megasthenes which assisted the king in deliberating on public affairs. This class was small in number, but in wisdom and justice excelled all the others.<sup>4</sup>

The most important amongst the Sachivas or Amatyas were undoubtedly the *Mantrins* or High Ministers, probably corresponding to the *Mahamatras* of Aśoka's Rock Edict VI, and the "advisers of the king" referred to by Diodorus (II, 41). They were selected from those Amatyas whose character had been tested under all kinds of allurements.<sup>5</sup> They were given the highest salary,

<sup>1</sup> Bk. III, Chap. I.

<sup>2</sup> Kautilya, Bk. I, Ch. XVI; XVIII; Bk. VIII, Ch. I. Cf. Aśoka's Rock Edict III (regulation about *śrī-puṇyata* and *śrī-puṇydhanyaṭata*), V (appointment of high officials), VI (relations with the *Parishedas*, and collection of information from the *Parishedas*), and XIII (diplomatic relations with foreign powers).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Manu VII, 35.

<sup>4</sup> Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 613.

<sup>5</sup> *Harvapada Śuddha Mantrinibhū kuryst.—Arthaśāstra*, p. 17.

viz., 48,000 paṇas per annum.<sup>1</sup> They assisted the king in examining the character of the Amātyas who were employed in ordinary departments.<sup>2</sup> All kinds of administrative measures were preceded by consultation with three or four of them.<sup>3</sup> In works of emergency (*atyayike kārye*) they were summoned along with the Mantriparishad.<sup>4</sup> They exercised a certain amount of control over the Imperial Princes.<sup>5</sup> They accompanied the king to the battle-field, and gave encouragement to the troops.<sup>6</sup> Kauṭilya was evidently one of these Mantrins. Another minister (or *Pradeshtṛi*?) was apparently Maniyatappo, a Jatilian, who helped the king to "confer the blessings of peace on the country by extirpating marauders who were like unto thorns."<sup>7</sup> That there were at times more than one Mantrin is proved by the use of the plural *Mantrināḥ*.

In addition to the Mantrins there was the *Mantriparishad* or Assembly of Imperial Councillors. The existence of the Parishad as an important element of the Maurya constitution is proved not only by the *Arthaśāstra* but by the third and sixth Rock Edicts of Aśoka. The members of the Mantriparishad were not identical with the Mantrins. In several passages of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* the Mantrins are sharply distinguished from the Mantriparishad.<sup>8</sup> The latter evidently occupied an inferior position. Their salary was only 12,000 paṇas, whereas the salary of a Mantrin was 48,000. They do not appear to have been consulted on ordinary occasions, but were summoned along with the Mantrins when *Ātyayika kārya*, i.e., works of emergency had to be transacted. The king was to be guided by the decision of the majority (*Bhūyishthāḥ*). They also attended the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 26, 28.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 22. Cf. Aśoka's Rock Edict VI.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 233.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 368.

<sup>7</sup> Turnour's *Mahābhāskarīya*, p. xlvi.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. pp. 20, 29, 247.

king at the time of the reception of envoys (p. 45). From the passage "Mantriparishadā dvādaśāmātyān kuryita" it appears that the Parishad used to be recruited from all kinds of Amātyas (not necessarily from Mantrins). From Kautilya's denunciation of a king with a "Kshudraparishad" (p. 259), his rejection of the views of the Mūnavas, Bārhaspatyas and the Auśanasas, his preference for an "Akshudra-parishad," and his reference to Indra's Parishad of a thousand Rishis, it may be presumed that he wanted to provide for the needs of a growing empire, and prevailed upon his master to constitute a fairly big assembly.

Besides the Mantrins and the Mantriparishad, there was another class of Amātyas who filled the great administrative and judicial appointments.<sup>1</sup> Kautilya says (p. 17) that the "dharmopadhāsuddha" Amātyas should be employed in civil<sup>2</sup> and criminal<sup>3</sup> courts; the "arthopadhāsuddha" Amātyas should be employed as Samābartri ("Chancellor of the Exchequer and Minister of the Interior") and Saunidhātri (High Treasurer and Keeper of Stores), the "kāmopadhāsuddha" Amātyas should be appointed to superintend the pleasure grounds, the "bhayopadhāsuddha" Amātyas should be appointed to immediate service (śanna kārya), while those who are proved impure should be employed in mines, timber and elephant forests,<sup>4</sup> and manufactories. Untried Amātyas were to be employed in ordinary departments (sāmanya adhikaraṇa). Persons endowed with the qualifications

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Kausa-Suktis of the Jundagali Rock Inscription of Rudradīwan.

<sup>2</sup> Civil (Dharmaśāstra) Courts were established "in the cities of Bahugrhaṇa (in the midst of a collection of ten villages), Dravamukha (in the centre of four hundred villages), Bhāṇiya (in the centre of eight hundred villages), and at places where districts met (Janapadasandhi)," and consisted of three Dharmashāras and three Amātyas.

<sup>3</sup> A Criminal (Kāṣṭakādhanā) Court consisted of 3 Amātyas or 3 Pradeshtiyas.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Nagavans of Pilar Edict V.

required in an *Amātya* (*Amātya sampadopeta*) were appointed *Nisṛiṣṭarthah* or Ministers Plenipotentiary, *Lekhakas* or Ministers of Correspondence, and *Adhyakshas* or Superintendents.

The statements of Kauṭilya regarding the employment of *Amātyas* as the chief executive and judicial officers of the realm, are confirmed by the classical writers. Strabo, for example, observes,<sup>1</sup> "the seventh caste consists of counsellors and assessors (*Symbouloī* and *Synedroi*) of the king. To these persons belong the offices of state, tribunals of justice, and the whole administration of affairs." Arrian also says, "from them are chosen their rulers, governors of provinces, deputies, treasurers, generals, admirals, controllers of expenditure; and superintendents of agriculture."

The *Adhyakshas* who formed the pivot of the Maurya administration, are evidently referred to by Strabo as Magistrates in the following passage:

"Of the Magistrates, some have the charge of the market,<sup>2</sup> others of the city, others of the soldiery.<sup>3</sup> Some have the care of the rivers, measure the land, as in Egypt, and inspect the closed reservoirs, from which water is distributed by canals, so that all may have an equal use of it. These persons have charge also of the hunters, and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as wood-cutters, carpenters, workers in brass, and miners. They superintend the public roads, and place a pillar at every ten stadia to indicate the by-ways and distances. Those who have charge of the city (*astynomoi*) are divided into six bodies

<sup>1</sup> H. and F., Vol. III, p. 163. Cf. Diodorus II, 41.

<sup>2</sup> "District" according to the Cambridge History of India, I, 417.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the *Dvanya-sabha-s-dvaya-makhyas* of Kauṭilya, Ba. XIII, Cha III and V.

<sup>4</sup> i.e., the district officials (*Agronomoi*).

of five each.<sup>1</sup> Next to the Magistrates of the city is a third body of governors, who have the care of military affairs. This class also consists of six divisions each composed of five persons."<sup>2</sup>

The Magistrates in charge of the city and those in charge of military affairs are evidently the same as the *Nagarādhyakshas* and *Balādhyakshas* of the *Arthaśāstra*.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Smith remarks,<sup>4</sup> "the Boards described by Megasthenes as in charge of the business of the capital and the army are unknown to the author (Kauṭilya), who contemplated each such charge as the duty of a single officer. The creation of the Boards may have been an innovation effected by Chandragupta personally." But the historian overlooks the fact that Kauṭilya distinctly says, "Bahu-mukhyam anityari chādhikarapām sthāpayet," each department shall be officered by several temporary heads<sup>5</sup>; "Adhyakshāḥ Sankhyāyaka-Lekhaka-Rūpadarśaka-Nivīgrāhak-ottarādhyaksha-sakhaḥ karmāṇi kuryuḥ." Evidently Dr. Smith notices only the *Adhyakshas* but ignores the existence of the *Uttarādhyakshas* and others. As in regard to the *Arthaśāstra* Smith notices only the

<sup>1</sup> Each Body was responsible for one of the following departments, viz., (1) the mechanical arts, (2) foreign residents, (3) registration of births and deaths, (4) miles, exchanges, weights and measures, (5) supervision of manufactured articles and (6) collection of tithes on sales.

<sup>2</sup> Each division or Board was responsible for one of the following departments, viz., the navy, transport and commissariat (*q. v.* *Pishṭi Karṇḍīśi* of Kauṭilya, Bk. X, Ch. IV), the infantry, the cavalry, the chariots and the elephants. In the *Sāntipurva* the divisions are stated to be six (GIII. 38) or eight (LIX. 41-42) :

Rathā Nagā Ḫayāśchāna Pādānāśchāraṇa Pāṇḍava  
Vishṭir Nṛta Ścharāśchāna Dēśike iti chāktamānam  
Aṅgāśyetat Kauravya prakāśai haisya te.

<sup>3</sup> Mysore Ed., 1919, p. 55. *Nagara-Dhārya-Vyavshārka-Karmāṇika-Balādhyakshāḥ*. Cf. *Balagrāhdhāra* and *Nigamapradhāshāḥ* of Mbh. V. 2. 6.

<sup>4</sup> BHL, 1914, p. 141. Cf. Moushan, *Early History of Bengal*, pp. 157-164, and Stein, *Megasthenes and Kauṭilya*, pp. 238 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Arthaśāstra*, 1918, p. 69. On page 57 we have the following passage—Hastya-ratha-pādātum-ameka-mukhyam-avasthapayet, i.e., elephants, cavalry, chariots, and infantry shall each be placed under many chiefs.

Adhyakshas, so in regard to the classical accounts he takes note only of the Boards, but ignores the chiefs who are expressly mentioned in two passages,<sup>1</sup> viz.—

"One division is associated with the *Chief Naval Superintendent*," "another (division) is associated with the person who has the charge of the bullock-teams." The Chief Naval Superintendent and the Person in Charge of the Bullock-teams, doubtless, correspond to the Nāvadhyaksha and Go'adhyaksha of the Arthashastra. It is a mistake to think that the Nāvadhyaksha of the early Hindu period was a purely civil official, for he was responsible for the destruction of *Himrikas*, and the Mahābhārata (XII. lix. 41-42) clearly refers to the navy as one of the *āṅgas* of the Royal Forces. The civil duties of the Nāvadhyaksha have their counterpart in those of Megasthenes' Admiral relating to the letting out of ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandize" (Strabo XV. 1. 46).

The central popular assemblies like those that existed among the Lichchhavis, Mallas, Sākyas and other Saṅghas had no place in the Maurya constitution. The custom of summoning a great assembly of Grāmikas seems also to have fallen into disuse.

### Provincial Government.

The Empire was divided into a number of provinces, because "no single administration could support the Atlantean load." The exact number of provinces in Chandragupta's time is unknown. In the time of his grandson Aśoka there were at least five, viz.:

- |                              |     |                 |
|------------------------------|-----|-----------------|
| 1. Uttarāpatha <sup>2</sup>  | ... | capital, Taxila |
| 2. Avanti rājya <sup>3</sup> | ... | Ujjayinī        |

<sup>1</sup> H. & F. Strabo, III, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Divyāvadana, p. 407.

<sup>3</sup> Mahābodhi-vāsinī, p. 88.

3. Dakshināpatha	...	capital, Suvarṇagiri (?)
4. Kaliṅga	...	" Tosali
5. Prachya (Prasi)	...	" Pāṭaliputra

Of these only the first two and the last one can be said, with any amount of certainty, to have formed parts of Chandragupta's Empire. But, it is not altogether improbable that Dakshināpatha, too, was one of Chandragupta's provinces. The outlying provinces were ruled by princes of the blood royal who were styled Kumāras. We learn from Kautilya's Arthaśāstra (p. 247) that the salary of a Kumāra was 12,000 paṇas per annum.

The Home Provinces, i.e., Prāchya and the Madhyadeśa, were directly ruled by the Emperor himself with the assistance of Mahāmātras stationed in important cities like Pāṭaliputra, Kauśambi, etc.

Besides the Imperial Provinces Maurya India included a number of territories which enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy. Arrian refers to cities which enjoyed a democratic Government.<sup>1</sup> Kautilya (p. 378) refers to a number of Sanghas, e.g., Kamboja, Surāshṭra, etc. The Kambojas find prominent mention as a separate unit even in the Thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka. That Surāshṭra was autonomous in the time of Aśoka seems probable from Rudradāman's inscription at Junagadh which refers to its Rājā, the Yavana Tushāspha, the contemporary and vassal of Aśoka. The Yavanarāja was probably a Greek chief of the North-West who was appointed Mukhya of the Surāshṭra Saṅgha by Aśoka, just as Rājā Mānsingh of Amber was appointed Sūbhadrā of Bengal by Akbar. His title of Rājā probably indicates that he enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy. His relations with Aśoka remind us of the relationship subsisting between the Rājā of the Śākyas state and Pasenadi. In the time of the first

<sup>1</sup> Chinnock, Arrian, p. 413.

Maurya Surāshṭra had an officer named Pushyagupta, the Vaiśya, who is described as a Rāshṭriya of Chandragupta. In the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, p. 13, the word Rāshṭriya was taken to mean a brother-in-law. Kielhorn, however, in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 48, took the term to mean a provincial governor. This meaning does not seem to be quite satisfactory because we have already seen that Surāshṭra was very probably an autonomous vassal state, and not an Imperial Province. A Rāshṭriya seems to have been a sort of Imperial High Commissioner, and the position of Pushyagupta in Surāshṭra was probably like that of Lord Cromer in Egypt. Neither the Arthaśāstra nor the Edicts of Asoka mention any class of officials called Rāshṭriya. It is, however, probable, that the Rāshṭriya was identical with the Rāshṭrapāla whose salary was equal to that of a Kumāra.<sup>1</sup>

#### Overseers and Spies.

The classical writers refer to a class of men called Overseers (*Episkopoi*) who "overlook what is done throughout the country and in the cities, and make reports to the king where the Indians are ruled by a king, or the magistrates where the people have a democratic government."<sup>2</sup> Strabo calls this class of men the Ephori or Inspectors. "They are," says he, "intrusted with the superintendence of all that is going on, and it is their duty to report privately to the king...The best and the most faithful persons are appointed to the office of Inspector."<sup>3</sup> The Overseers of Arrian and the Inspectors of Strabo probably correspond either to the Pradeshtgis or the Gūḍha-Purushas of

<sup>1</sup> Arthashastra, p. 247. For Rāshṭriya, see also Mbh. XIII. 86. 12; 87. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Chinnock, Arrian, p. 418.

<sup>3</sup> H. & F., Strabo, III, p. 105.

the Arthaśāstra. Dr. Thomas derives the word Pradeshtṛi from Pradeśa which means "report"<sup>1</sup> by the rule of Pāṇini, II. 2. 15 (*Trijakābhyaṁ kartari*).

Strabo tells us that the City Inspectors employed as their co-adjudicators the city courtesans; and the Inspectors of the Camp, the women who followed it. The employment of women of easy virtue as spies is also alluded to by Kautilya. According to him there were two groups of spies, viz.:

1. Samsthāḥ, consisting of Kāpaṭika, Udāsthita, Grīhapatika, Vaidehaka and Tāpasa, i.e., fraudulent disciples, recluses, householders, merchants and ascetics.

2. Sañchārāḥ,<sup>2</sup> including Satri, Tikshṇa and Rashada, i.e., class-mates, firebrands, and poisoners, and certain women described as Bhikshukis, Parivrajikās, Mundas and Vṛishhalis. It is to the last class, viz., the Vṛishhalis that Strabo evidently refers. We have explicit references to courtesan (Pumśali, veṣya, rūpajīva) spies on pp. 221, 249, 316 of the Arthaśāstra.

### Care of Foreigners.

It is clear from the accounts of Diodorus (II. 42) and Strabo (XV. 1. 50) that the Maurya government took special care of foreigners. "Among the Indians officers are appointed even for foreigners, whose duty is to see that no foreigner is wronged. Should any one of them lose his health, they send physicians to attend him, and take care of him otherwise, and if he dies they bury him, and deliver over such property as he leaves to his relatives. The judges also decide cases in which foreigners are concerned with the greatest care, and come down sharply on those who take unfair advantage of them."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> JRAS., 1915, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lüders, Ins. No. 1200.

<sup>3</sup> McGrindle, Megasthenes and Arrian, 1926, p. 42.

### Village Administration.

The administrative and judicial business of villages was carried on by the Grāmikas<sup>1</sup> who were, no doubt, assisted by the Grāmavṛiddhas<sup>2</sup> or village elders. The omission of the Grāmika from the list of salaried officials given in Bk. V, Ch. III of the Arthashastra is significant. It probably indicates that the Grāmika was not a paid servant of the crown, but an elected official of the villagers. The king's servant in the village was the Grāmabhṛitaka.<sup>3</sup> Above the Grāmika were the Gopa,<sup>4</sup> who looked after 5 or 10 villages, and the Sīhānika who controlled one quarter of a janapada or district. The work of these officers was supervised by the Samāhatri with the help of the Pradeshtiris (pp. 142, 217).

### The Last Days of Chandragupta.

Jaina tradition avers that Chandragupta was a Jaina and that, when a great famine occurred, he abdicated and repaired to Mysore where he died. Two inscriptions on the north bank of the Kaverī near Seringapatam of about 900 A.D., describe the summit of the Kalbappu Hill, i.e., Chandragiri, as marked by the footprints of Bhadravāhu and Chandragupta Munipati.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Smith observes,<sup>6</sup> "The Jain tradition holds the field, and no alternative account exists." Chandragupta died about 298 or 297 B.C., after a reign of 24 years.

If the Pariśiṣṭaparvan of Hemachandra is to be believed Chandragupta had a queen named Durdhara who

<sup>1</sup> Arthashastra, pp. 157, 172. Cf. Lüders, Ins. Nos. 48, 63a.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 48, 161, 168, 169, 179. Cf. Lüders, Ins. No. 1227.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 175, 248.

<sup>4</sup> The Gopas proper do not find mention in early epigraphy, but Lüders, Ins. No. 1206, mentions "Senagopas."

<sup>5</sup> Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, pp. 3-4,

<sup>6</sup> The Oxford History of India, p. 78.

became the mother of Bindusāra, the son who succeeded him on throne. In the absence of corroborative evidence, however, the name of the queen cannot be accepted as genuine.

### *II. The Reign of Bindusāra.*

Chandragupta Maurya was succeeded in or about the year 298 B.C. by his son Bindusāra Amitraghāta. The name or title Amitraghāta (slayer of foes) is a restoration in Sanskrit<sup>1</sup> of the Amitrachates of Athenaios, and Allitrochades of Strabo, who is stated to have been the son of Sandrocottus. Dr. Fleet prefers the rendering Amitrakhāda or devourer of enemies, which is said to occur as an epithet of Indra.<sup>2</sup> From Aśoka's Rock Edict VIII (Kālsī Text) it appears probable that Bindusāra, as well as other predecessors of Aśoka, used the style Devānathpiya.

If Hemachandra and Tāranātha are to be believed, Kautilya or Chānakya continued to serve as minister for some time after the accession of Bindusāra.<sup>3</sup> "Chānaka," says Tāranātha, "one of his (Bindusāra's) great lords, procured the destruction of the nobles and kings of sixteen towns, and as king he made himself master of all the territory between the eastern and western seas."<sup>4</sup> The conquest of the territory between the eastern and western seas has been taken by some scholars to refer to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Isamen, and Gunn, (*Bhāskara Topes*, p. 92). The term Amītraghāta occurs in Patnījali's *Mahābhāskya*, III, 2. 2. Dr. Jasi Charpentier observes (in *Le Monde Oriental*, quoted in *Calcutta Review*, May-June, 1826, p. 399), "that the Greek word Ἀμιτροχάτης a synonym of Bindusāra, should be rendered Amītraghāta; whence clear not only from the *Mahābhāskya* but also from the royal title amītrāñjanānī in Art. Br. VIII, 17."

<sup>2</sup> JRAS., 1900, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobs, *Parīkṣābṛavarṇa*, p. 62; Ind. Ant., 1875, p. 364. For the alleged connection of Bindusāra with another minister named Bahundra, the author of the *Vārunavatī Nātyāśākhā*, see *Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference*, pp. 208-11.

annexation of the Deccan.<sup>1</sup> But we should not forget that already in the time of Chandragupta the Maurya Empire extended from Surāshtra to Bengal (Gangaridāe), i.e., from the western to the eastern sea. Tāranātha's statement need mean nothing more than the suppression of a general revolt. No early tradition expressly connects the name of Bindusāra with the conquest of the Deccan.<sup>2</sup> The story of the subjugation of sixteen towns may or may not be true, but we are told in the *Divyāvadāna*<sup>3</sup> that at least one town of note, viz., Taxila, revolted during the reign of Bindusāra. The king is said to have despatched Asoka there. While the prince was nearing Taxila with his troops the people came out to meet him, and said "we are not opposed to the prince, nor even to king Bindusāra, but the wicked ministers (*Dushtāmatyāḥ*) insult us." The high-handedness of the Maurya officials in the outlying provinces is alluded to by Asoka himself in his Kalinga Edict.<sup>4</sup> Addressing his *Mahāmātras* the Emperor says:

"All men are my children: and, just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the next, so also I desire the same for all men. You, however, do not grasp this truth to its full extent. Some individual, perchance, pays heed, but to a part only, not the whole. See then to this, for the principle of government is well established. Again, it happens that some individual incurs imprisonment or torture, and when the result is his imprisonment without due cause, many other people are

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Smith, XII, p. 149, J.R.A.S. 1910, 598; Jayaswal, *The Empire of Bindusāra*, JBORS, II, 82.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, Sahmaniam, J.R.A.S. 1923, p. 96. "My Gurū Gurī has written in his commentary on a Sāṃgam work that the Tuṇ-nāda was established by the son of Chandragupta," perhaps Tulyān (Tuli = Bindu).

<sup>3</sup> Cowell and Neil's Ed., p. 371.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, Asoka, third edition, pp. 194-195.

*deeply grieved.* In such a case you must desire to do justice...and for this purpose, in accordance with the Law of Piety, I shall send forth in rotation every five years such persons (Mahāmatras) as are of mild and temperate disposition, and regardful of the sanctity of life, who knowing this my purpose will comply with my instructions. From Ujjain, however, the Prince for this purpose will send out a similar body of officials, and will not over-pass three years. *In the same way from Taxila.*"

#### Foreign Relations.

In his relations with the Hellenistic powers Bindusāra pursued a pacific policy. We learn from the classical writers (*e.g.*, Strabo) that the king of Syria despatched to his court an ambassador named Deimachos. Pliny<sup>1</sup> tells us that (Ptolemy) Philadelphos sent an envoy named Dionysios. Dr. Smith, however, points out that it is uncertain whether Diortylos presented his credentials to Bindusāra or to his son and successor, Aśoka. The same historian says<sup>2</sup> that Patrokles, an officer who served under both Seleukos and his son, sailed in the Indian seas and collected much geographical information which Strabo and Pliny were glad to utilize. Athenaios tells an anecdote of private friendly correspondence between Antiochos, king of Syria, and Bindusāra which indicates that the Indian monarch communicated with his Hellenistic contemporaries on terms of equality and friendliness. We are told that Amitrochates (Bindusāra), the king of the Indians, wrote to Antiochos asking that king to buy and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist, and Antiochos replied: we shall send you the figs and the wine, but in Greece the laws forbid a sophist to be sold.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> McGindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Aśoka, third edition, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> McGindle, *Inv. Alex.*, p. 409.

Bindusāra's Family.

Bindusāra had many children besides Aśoka, the son who succeeded him on the throne. We learn from a passage of the Fifth Rock Edict in which the duties of the Dharma-mahāmītras are described, that Aśoka had many brothers and sisters. The Divyāvadāna mentions two of these brothers, namely, Susīma and Vigatāśoka. The Ceylonese Chronicles seem also to refer to these two princes though under different names, calling the former Sumana and the latter Tishya. Susīma-Sumana is said to have been the eldest son of Bindusāra and a stepbrother of Aśoka, while Vigatāśoka-Tishya is reputed to have been the youngest son of Bindusāra and a uterine brother of Aśoka, born of a Brāhmaṇa girl named Subhadrāngi. Hiuen Tsang mentions a brother of Aśoka named Mahendra. Ceylonese tradition, however, represents the latter as a son of Aśoka.

Bindusāra died after a reign of 25 years according to the Purāṇas, and 28 years according to the Ceylonese Chronicles. According to Dr. Smith's chronology his reign terminated about 273 B.C.<sup>1</sup> If the Ceylonese account be correct, the date of his death was 270 and not 273 B.C.

*III. The Early Years of Aśoka.*

Both the Divyāvadāna and the Ceylonese Chronicles agree that there was a fratricidal struggle after the death of Bindusāra. Aśoka is said to have overthrown his eldest stepbrother with the help of Rādhagupta whom he made his Agrāmātya (Chief Minister). Dr. Smith observes,<sup>2</sup> "the fact that his formal consecration or coronation (abhisheka)

<sup>1</sup> Aśoka, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> The Oxford History of India, p. 48.

was delayed for some four years<sup>1</sup> until 269 B. C., confirms the tradition that his succession was contested, and it may be true that his rival was an elder brother named Susima.<sup>2</sup> In his Asoka (third edition) published a few months later, he says, "it is possible that the long delay may have been due to a disputed succession involving much bloodshed, but there is no independent evidence of such a struggle." Mr. Jayaswal<sup>3</sup> gives the following explanation for the delay in Asoka's coronation: "It seems that in those days for obtaining royal abhisheka<sup>4</sup> the age of 25 was a condition precedent. This seems to explain why Asoka was not crowned for three or four years after accession."

Dr. Smith characterises<sup>5</sup> the Ceylonese tales which relate that Asoka slew many of his brothers as silly because Asoka certainly had brothers and sisters alive in the seventeenth or eighteenth year of his reign, whose households were objects of his anxious care. But we should remember that the Fifth Rock Edict refers only to the female establishments of his brothers (*olodhanesu bhātinam*) as existing. This does not necessarily imply that the brothers also were alive. We should, however, admit that there is nothing to show, on the contrary, that the brothers were dead. The Fifth Rock Edict, in our opinion, proves nothing regarding the authenticity or untrustworthiness of the Ceylonese tradition.

The first four years of Asoka's reign is, to quote the words which Dr. Smith uses in another connection, "one of the dark spaces in the spectrum of Indian history; vague speculation, unchecked by the salutary limitations of verified fact, is, at the best, unprofitable."

<sup>1</sup> *Mahāvastu*, Geiger's translation, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> JBOB, 1917, p. 438.

<sup>3</sup> There were other kinds of abhisheka also, e.g., those of Tavatīsa, Kambū, and Sādāyat.

<sup>4</sup> EHI, p. 156.

Like his predecessors<sup>1</sup> Asoka assumed the title of Devānampiṇa. He generally described himself as Devānampiṇa Piyaçasi.<sup>2</sup> The name Asoka is found only in literature, and in two ancient inscriptions, viz., the Māski Edict of Asoka himself, and the Jannagadhi inscription of the Mahakshatrapa Rudradāman I. The name Dharmasoka is found in one Medieval epigraph, viz., the Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevi.<sup>3</sup>

During the first thirteen years of his reign Asoka seems to have carried on the traditional Maurya policy of expansion within India, and of friendly co-operation with the foreign powers, which was in vogue after the Seleukidan war. Like Chandragupta and Bindusara he was aggressive at home but pacific abroad. The friendly attitude towards non-Indian powers is proved by the exchange of embassies and the employment of Yavana officials like Tushāspa. In India, however, he played the part of a conqueror. The Divyāvadāna credits him with the suppression of a revolt of Taxila. In the thirteenth year of his reign (eight years after consecration) he effected the conquest of Kalinga. We do not know the exact limits of this kingdom in the time of Asoka. But if the Sanskrit epics and Purāṇas are to be believed, it extended to the river Vaitarani in the north,<sup>4</sup> the Amarakaṇṭaka Hills in the west<sup>5</sup> and Mahendragiri in the south.<sup>6</sup>

An account of the Kaliṅga war and its effects is given in Rock Edict XIII. We have already seen that Kaliṅga formed a part of the Magadhan dominions in the time of the Nandas. Why was it necessary for Asoka to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rock Edict VIII, Easw, Śaṅkhaçarī and Mānasāra Texts.

<sup>2</sup> The epithet "Piḍañśasā" is sometimes prefixed to Chandragupta also (Bhāskerar, Asoka, p. 6; Holtzsch, CII, Vol. I, p. xxx).

<sup>3</sup> Dharmasoka-nārādhipasya sāmīya Śrī Dharmachakro Jina yātrikā mūravya rākṣiṣāḥ pīnaranyañchakre tato pībhūtām.

<sup>4</sup> Mih., III, 114, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Kūrm Purāṇa II, 39, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Rāgañvāñda IV, 38-43; VI, 53-54.

reconquer it? The question admits of only one answer, *viz.*, that Kalinga severed its connection with Magadha after the fall of the Nandas. If the story of a general revolt in the time of Bindusāra be correct then it is not unlikely that Kalinga, like Taxila, threw off the allegiance of Magadha during the reign of Bindusāra. It appears, however, from Pliny who probably based his account on the *Indica* of Megasthenes, that Kalinga was already an independent kingdom in the time of Chaudragupta. In that case there can be no question of a revolt in the time of Bindusāra. Pliny says,<sup>1</sup> "the tribes called Calingae are nearest the sea...the royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot soldiers, 1,000 horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in 'procinct of war.'"<sup>2</sup>

The Kalinga kings probably increased their army considerably during the period which elapsed from the time of Megasthenes to that of Aśoka, because during the war with Aśoka the casualties exceeded 250,000. It is, however, possible that the huge total included not only combatants but also non-combatants. The existence of a powerful kingdom so near their borders, with a big army 'in procinct of war,' could not be a matter of indifference to the kings of Magadha. Magadha learnt to

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., 1877, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> If, as is probable, Kalinga included at this time the neighbouring country of Āśvaka, then Parthalis may be the same as "Patali." For an interesting account of Kalinga and its early capitals Dantakali and Tassili, see Sylvain Lévi, "Pré-Aryens et Pré-Dravidien dans l'Inde," J.A., Juillet-Septembre 1923; and Indian Antiquary, 1926 (May), pp. 94-95. "The appellation of Kalinga, applied to Indians throughout the Malay world, attests the brilliant rôle of the men of Kalinga in the diffusion of Hindu civilisation." Not far from the earliest capital (Palenam-Dantapaya-Dantakali) lay the sphaerian, "where vessels bound for the Golden Peninsula ceased to hug the shore and sailed for the open sea." Note, in this connection, the name Hu-ling (Po-ling, Kalinga) applied by the Chinese to Java (Takuan I-ling, p. xvii) as island which was known by its Sanskrit name to Pintaway (150 A.D.) and even to the Rāmāyaṇa (Eshik, 40, 30).

her cost what a powerful Kalinga meant, in the time of Khāravela.

We learn from the Thirteenth Rock Edict that Asoka made war on the Kalinga country and annexed it to his empire. "One hundred and fifty thousand persons were carried away captive, one hundred thousand were slain, and many times that number died." Violence, slaughter, and separation from their beloved ones befell not only to combatants, but also to the Brāhmaṇas, ascetics, and householders.

The conquered territory was constituted a viceroyalty under a prince of the royal family stationed at Tosali,<sup>1</sup> apparently situated in the Puri district. The Emperor issued special edicts prescribing the principles on which both the settled inhabitants and the border tribes should be treated. These two edicts are preserved at two sites, now called Dhauli (in Puri) and Jaugada (in Gañjam). They are addressed to the Mahāmātras or High Officers at Tosali and Samāpā.<sup>2</sup> In these documents the Emperor makes the famous declaration "all men are my children," and charges his officers to see that justice is done to the people.

The conquest of Kalinga was a great landmark in the history of Magadha, and of India. It marks the close of that career of conquest and aggrandisement which was ushered in by Bimbisāra's annexation of Anga. It opens a new era—an era of peace, of social progress, of religious propaganda and at the same time of political stagnation

<sup>1</sup> Tosali (various Tosaī) was the name of a country as well as a city. Lévi points out that the *Gāndharvīśā* refers to the country (Janapada) of "Avita-Tosala" in the Dakshinapatha, "where stands a city named Tosala." In Brāhmaṇical literature Tosala is constantly associated with (South) Kośala and is sometimes distinguished from Kullīga. The form Tosalei occurs in the Geography of Ptolemy. Some medieval inscriptions (Sp. Ind. IX. 289; XV. 3) refer to Dakṣiṇa Tosala and Uttra Tosala.

<sup>2</sup> For the identification of Samāpā, see Ind. Ant., 1923, pp. 66 ff.

and, perhaps, of military inefficiency during which the martial spirit of imperial Magadha was dying out for want of exercise. The era of Digvijaya was over, the era of Dhammavijaya was about to begin.

We should pause here to give an account of the **extent of Asoka's dominions** and the manner in which they were administered before the Emperor embarked on a new policy.

Asoka mentions Magadha, Pātaliputra, Khalatikapavata (Barabar Hills), Kosambi, Lumbinigāma, Kaliṅga (including Tosali, Samāpā and Khepingala or the Jaugada Rock), Afavi (the forest tract of Central India), Suvarṇagiri, Isila, Ujjayini and Takshashilā expressly as being among those places which were under his rule.

Beyond Takshashilā the empire stretched as far as the confines of the realm of "Arūtiyako Yonarājā" and included the wide territory round Shabāzgarhi and Mānsahra inhabited by the Yonas, Kambojas and the Gandhāras. The exact situation of the Yona territory has not yet been determined. The Mahāvaihā evidently refers to it and its chief city Alasanda which Geiger identifies with the town of Alexandria founded by the Macedonian conqueror near Kābul.<sup>1</sup> Kamboja, as we have already seen, corresponds to Rūjapura or Rajaur near Punch in Kaśmir. The tribal territory of the Gandhāras at this time probably lay to the west of the Indus, and did not apparently include Takshashilā which was ruled by a princely Viceroy, and was the capital of the province of Uttarāpatha.<sup>2</sup> The capital of Trans-Indian Gandhāra was Pushkarāvatī.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Geiger, *Mahāvaihā*, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kaliṅga Edict, Divyāvadāna, p. 407; Rājātakasy-oitariपथे Takshashilā magarāvā, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Curzon, *Loc.*, 1818, p. 54.

The inclusion of Kaśmīra within Asoka's empire is proved by the testimony of Huien Tsang's Records<sup>1</sup> and Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgini<sup>2</sup>: Kalhaṇa says: "The faithful Asoka, reigned over the earth. This king who had freed himself from sins and had embraced the doctrine of Jina, covered Sushkaletra and Vitastātra with numerous Stūpas. At the town of Vitastātra there stood within the precincts of the Dharmarāya Vihāra a Chaitya built by him, the height of which could not be reached by the eye. That illustrious king built the town of Srinagar. This sinless prince after removing the old stuccoed enclosure of the shrine of Vijayeśvara built in its stead a new one of stone. He...erected within the enclosure of Vijayeśvara, and near it, two temples which were called Aśokeśvara."<sup>3</sup> The description of Asoka as a follower of Jina, i.e., Buddha, and the builder of numerous stupas leaves no room for doubt that the great Maurya monarch is meant. We are told by Kalhaṇa himself that he is indebted for much of the above account to an earlier chronicler named Chhavillakara.

The inscriptions at Kālsī and those on the Rummindei and the Nigali Sāgar pillars prove the inclusion of the Dehra-Dūn District and the Tarāī within the limits of Asoka's Empire, while the monuments at Lalitapātan and Rāmpurwā attest his possession of the valley of Nepāl and the district of Champāran. Further evidence of the inclusion of the Himalayan region within Asoka's empire is furnished by Rock Edict XIII which refers to the Nābhā-pāntis of Nābhikā, probably identical with Na-pe-i-ke-a of FaHien,<sup>4</sup> the birthplace of Krakuchchanda Buddha, about 10 miles south or south-west of Kapilavastu.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Waiters, Vol. I, pp. 267-271.

<sup>2</sup> L. 102-106.

<sup>3</sup> Legge, 64.

<sup>4</sup> "The Brahmaprāṇa assigns Nābhikāpura to the territory of the Utara-Kurus" (Hultzsch, LII, Vol. I, p. xxix).

According to Bähler Rock Edict XIII mentions two vassal tribes Visa and Vajri. Several scholars do not accept Bähler's reading, and substitute Visayamhi in its place. That is no doubt the reading of the Girnar text, but according to Professors Bhandarkar and Majumdar<sup>1</sup> the Shahbzgarhi and Mānsahra texts read Visharajri. Kautilya in his *Arthashastra*<sup>2</sup> refers to the Vrijikas as a Sangha along with Kamboja and other states. It is not unlikely that Vrijika is identical with Vajri, and that like Kamboja, the Vrijikas were a vassal state within the Maurya Empire. The capital of the state was, of course, Vaishali. A tribe called Besatae is mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythrean sea<sup>3</sup> and is located on the borders of the land of This, i.e., China. It is not altogether improbable that the Vishas of Asoka's Edict are identical with the Besatae of the Periplus, and the names of the products Bisi and Mahabisi<sup>4</sup> were derived from them. In the commentary on the *Arthashastra*<sup>5</sup> it is stated that the twelve villages producing Bisi and Mahabisi are situated on the Himalayas.

We learn from the classical writers that the country of the Gangaridae, i.e., Bengal,<sup>6</sup> formed a part of the dominions of the king of the Prasii, i.e., Magadha, as early as the time of Agrammes, i.e., the last Nanda King.<sup>7</sup> A

<sup>1</sup> The Inscriptions of Asoka, published by the University of Calcutta, Part I, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> P. 378.

<sup>3</sup> Schöff's Ed., p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Mentioned in the *Arthashastra*, p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> Shamsaasatri's translation, p. 91, n. 10.

<sup>6</sup> For early references to Valga, see Lévi "Pédrayen et Pédravidien dans l'Inde." Several scholars find it mentioned in the *Alkereya Aranyakas*. But this is doubtful. Bodhayana brands it as an impure country and even Patanjali excludes it from Aryavarta. The country was, however, organised before the Manusmriti which extends the eastern boundary of Aryavarta to the sun, and the Jain Prajapans which ranks Aaga and Valga in the first group of Aryav people.

<sup>7</sup> McDowell, Inv. Alex., pp. 221, 281.

passage of Pliny clearly suggests that the "Palibothri" dominated the whole tract along the Ganges.<sup>1</sup> That the Magadhan kings retained their hold on Bengal as late as the time of Asoka is proved by the testimony of the *Divyāvadāna*<sup>2</sup> and of Hiuen Tsang who saw Stūpas of that monarch near Tāmralipti and Karpasuvarna (in West Bengal), in Samataṭa (East Bengal) as well as in Pundravardhana (North Bengal). Kāmarūpa (Assam) seems to have lain outside the empire. The Chinese pilgrim saw no monument of Asoka in that country.

We have seen that in the south the Maurya power, at one time, had probably penetrated as far as the Podiyil Hill in the Tinnevelly district. In the time of Asoka the Maurya frontier had receded probably to the Pennar river near Nellore as the Tamil Kingdoms are referred to as "Prachamta" or border states and are clearly distinguished from the Imperial dominions (Vijita or Rājavishaya), which stretched only as far south as the Chitaldūrg District of Mysore. The major part of the Deccan was ruled by the viceregal princes of Suvarṇagiri<sup>3</sup> and Tosali, the Mahā-māṭras of Isila and Samāpā and the officers in charge of the Atavi or Forest Country (Edict XIII). But certain strips of territory were occupied by vassal tribes, e.g., the Andhras, Pulindas, Bhojas and Rāshṭrikas. The word Pitinika mentioned in Rock Edicts V and XIII should, according to Prof. Bhandarkar, not be read as a

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., 1877, 339.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Smith's Asoka, 3rd ed., p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> A clue to the location of this city is probably given by the inscriptions of the later Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ and Khāndesh, apparently the descendants of the southern Viceroy (Ep. Ind. III. 196). As those later Martra inscriptions have been found at Vāda in the north of the Thāṇ-Bhāṭekā (Bom̄. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 14) and at Wāghīl in Khāndesh (ibid. 284), it is not unlikely that Suvarṇagiri was situated in that neighbourhood. Curiously enough there is actually in Khāndesh a place called Sonagir. According to Bultzsch (GII, p. xxviii) Suvarṇagiri is perhaps identical with Koṅkāgiri in the Niṣkūla dominions, south of Muṇḍa, and north of the rising of Vijaynagara. Itsa may have been the ancient name of Siddhpura.

separate name but as an adjective qualifying Rāshṭrika (Edict V) and Bhoja (Edict XIII). The Professor draws our attention to certain passages in the Ānguttara Nikāya<sup>1</sup> where the term Pettanika occurs in the sense of one who enjoys property given by father.<sup>2</sup> The Andhras and the Pulindas are, as we have already seen, mentioned in a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The Bhojas are also mentioned in that work as rulers of the south. Pliny, quoting probably from Megasthenes, says that the Andarae (Andhras) possessed numerous villages, thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and supplied their king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants.<sup>3</sup> The earliest Andhra capital (Andhapura) was situated on the Telavāha river which, according to Professor Bhandarkar, is either the modern Tel or Telingiri both flowing near the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces.<sup>4</sup> The Pulindas are invariably associated with the Vindhyan region in the Purāṇas.

Pulinda Vindhya Pushika Vaidarbhi Dandakaiḥ saha (Matsya. P. 114, 48).

Pulinda Vindhya Mulika Vaidarbhi Dandakaiḥ saha (Vāyu, 55, 126).

Their capital Pulindanagara lay not far from Bhilsā and may have been identical with Rūpnāth, the find-spot of one recension of Minor Rock Edict I.

The Bhojas and the Rāshṭrikas were evidently the

<sup>1</sup> III, 70 and 300.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., 1919, p. 80. Other scholars, however, identify the Pitinikas with the Paithinikas or natives of Paithan, and some go so far as to suggest that they are the ancestors of the Śārvabhanu rulers of Paithan. See Woolast, Asoka Text and Glossary, II, 113; also J.R.A.S., 1923, 92.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., 1927, p. 389.

<sup>4</sup> In historical times the Andhras are found in possession of the Krishnā and Gopīr districts as we learn from the Mayavalli plates and other records. The earliest capital of the Andhra country or "Andhrapatha" known from the inscriptions, is apparently Dharmakarla or Besvāla. Kubera of the Bhatṭiputra inscriptions (c. 200 B.C.) is the earliest known ruler.

ancestors of the Mahābhōjas and the Mahārāthas of the Sātavāhana period.<sup>1</sup> The Bhōjas apparently dwelt in Berar and the Koṅkan, and the Rāshṭrikas in Mabarāshṭra.

In the west Asoka's Empire extended to the Arabian Sea and embraced all the Aparāntas (Sūrpāraka, Nāsik, etc., according to the Mārkandeya P. 57. 49-52) including no doubt the vassal state or province of Surāshṭra which was governed by the Yavanarāja Tushāspha with Girinagara (Girnar) as his capital. Dr. Smith says that the form of the name shows that the Yavanarāja must have been a Persian, but according to this interpretation the Yavana Dharmadeva, the Saka Ushavadatta (Rishabhadatta) and the Kushān Vāsudeva must have been all native Hindus of India. If Greeks and other foreigners adopted Hindu names there is no wonder that some of them assumed Irāṇīc appellations. There is, then, no good ground for assuming that Tushāspha was not a Greek, but a Persian.

Having described the extent of Asoka's empire we now proceed to give a brief account of its administration. Asoka continued the Council government of his predecessors. There are references to the Emperor's dealings with the Parishā or Parishad in Rock Edicts III and VI. Senart took Parishā to mean Saṅgha and Böhler understood by it the Committee of caste or sect. But Mr. Jayaswal has pointed out that the Parishā of the Edicts is the Mantriparishad of the Arthaśāstra.<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions prove that Asoka retained also the system of Provincial Government existing under his forefathers. Tosali, Suvarṇagiri, Ujjayini and Takshashilā were each under a prince of the blood royal (Kumāla or Ayaputa).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Smith, Asoka, third ed., pp. 168-170.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the references to the "Saṅghika Parishā" in the Mahāyāna, Senart, Vol. II, pp. 332, 352.

<sup>3</sup> An interesting feature of Asoka's administration was the employment of a Yavana governor over one province to which reference has already been made.

The Emperor and the Princes were helped by bodies (*Nikayā*) of officials who fell under the following classes :—

1. The Mahāmātras<sup>1</sup> and other Makhya.
2. The Rajukas.
3. The Pradesikas or Prādesikas.
4. The Yutas (the Yuktaś of the Arthaśāstra, pp. 59, 65, 199, Rāmāyaṇa, VI. 127.34 ; Mbh. II. 56.18, Manu, VIII. 34 ; cf. the Raja-yuktas of the Sāntiparva 82.9-15).
5. Pulīśa.
6. Pañivedaka.
7. Vachabbūmikā.
8. Lipikaras.
9. Dūtas.
10. Āyuktas.

There was a body of *Mahāmātras* in each great city and district of the empire.<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions mention the *Mahāmātras* of Pāṭaliputra, Kauśambi, Tosali, Samāpā, Suvarnagiri and Isila. In the Kalinga Edicts we have certain *Mahāmātras* distinguished by the term *Nagala Viyohālakā*. The *Nagala Viyohālakā* of the Edicts correspond to the *Paura-vyavahārikas* of the Arthaśāstra (p. 20) and no doubt administered justice in cities.<sup>3</sup> In Pillar Edict I mention is made of the *Ārtha Mahāmātras* or the Wardens of the Marches, who correspond to the *Antapāla*s of the Arthaśāstra (pp. 20, 247) and the *Goptis* of the age of Skanda Gupta. Kautilya tells us that the salary of an *Antapāla* was equal to that of a *Kumāra*, a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Arthaśāstra, pp. 16, 20, 58, 64, 213, 227-30.

<sup>2</sup> The Empire, as already stated, was divided into a number of provinces. Each province seems to have been further subdivided into *Ābhās* or districts under regular civil administration, and *kṣetra-śikhya*s or territories commanding fortresses (Rājāḥsh., p. xi). Each civil administrative division had a *pura* or *nagara* (city) and a rural part called *Jānapada*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *Nagara-dhāraṇya Vyavahārīka*, p. 55.

Paura-vyāvahārika, a member of the Mantriparishad or a Rāshtrapāla (p. 247). In Edict XII mention is made of the Ithibhaka Mahāmātras who, doubtless, correspond to the Stry-ādhyakshas (the Guards of the Ladies) of the Mahābhārata.<sup>1</sup>

As to the *Rājukas*, Dr. Smith takes the word to mean a governor next below a Kūmāra.<sup>2</sup> Bühler identifies the *Rajūka* of the Aśokan inscriptions with the *Rajūka* or the *Rajjugāhaka amachcha* of the Jātakas.<sup>3</sup> Pillar Edict IV refers to the *Rajukas* as officers "set over many hundred thousands of people," and charged with the duty of promoting the welfare of the *Jānapadas*, to whom Aśoka granted independence in the award of honours and penalties. The reference to the award of penalties (*Danda*) probably indicates that the *Rajukas* had judicial duties. In Rock Edict III as well as in Pillar Edict IV they are associated with the *Yutas*. Strabo<sup>4</sup> refers to a class of Magistrates (*Agronomoi*) who "have the care of the rivers, measure the land, as in Egypt, have charge also of the hunters and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either." The measuring of the land connects those Magistrates with the *Rajjugāhaka Amachcha* of the Jātakas<sup>5</sup> while the power of rewarding and punishing people connects them with the *Rajukas* of Aśoka. It is probable, therefore, that the *Agronomoi* referred to by Strabo were identical with the *Rajukas* and the *Rajjugāhaka Amachchas*. The *Arthaśāstra* (p. 234) refers to a class of officials called "Chora *Rajukas*," but there is no reference to the *Rajukas* proper, although on p. 60

<sup>1</sup> IX. 29, 68, 90; XV. 22, 20; 23, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Aśoka Red., p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> The Social Organisation in North-east India by Fick, translated by S. Malles, pg. 148-151.

<sup>4</sup> H. and E., Vol. III, p. 103.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Maitra, Fick, pg. 148-149.

"Rajju" is mentioned in conjunction with "Chora Rajju."

As regards the *Pradesikas* or *Pradesikas*, Senart, Kern and Böhler understand the term to denote local governors or local chiefs. Smith took it to mean District Officers. Hultzsch compares it with *Pradesikesvara* of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī* (IV. 126). The word occurs only in the third Rock Edict where the functionaries in question are included with the Rājukas and the Yutas in the ordinance of the Anusamīyāna. Thomas derives the word from *pradeśa* which means report<sup>1</sup> by the rule of Pāṇini trijakābhyaṁkurtari (II. 2.15) and identifies the Pradesikas or Pradesikas of the Edict with the Pradeshtis of the Arthaśāstra. The most important functions of the Pradeshtis were Balipragraha (collection of taxes, or suppression of recalcitrant chiefs), Kantakaśodhana (administration of criminal justice), Choramārgaṇa (tracking of thieves) and Adhyakshapām adhyaksha purushāpām cha niyamanah (checking superintendents and their men). They acted as intermediaries between the Samāhatrī on the one hand and the Gopas, Sthānikas and Adhyakshas on the other.<sup>2</sup>

As to the *Yutas* or *Yuktas*, they are represented by Manu (VIII. 34) as the custodians of Praṇashtādhigata dravya (lost property which was recovered). In the Arthaśāstra, too, they are mentioned in connection with Samudaya or state funds which they are represented as misappropriating. Hultzsch suggests that they were 'secretaries' employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the Mahāmātras. The *Pulisā* or Agents are apparently identical with the Purushas or Rāja Purushas of the Arthaśāstra (pp. 59, 75). Hultzsch prefers to equate them with the Gūḍha-purushas and points out

<sup>1</sup> JRAS, 1915, p. 97; Arthaśāstra, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Arthaśāstra, pp. 142, 200, 217, 222.

that they were graded into high ones, low ones, and those of middle rank. They were placed in charge of many people (Pillar Edict VII) and controlled the *Rājūkas*. The *Patiñedakas* or Reporters are doubtless the *Chāras* referred to in Chap. 16 of the *Arthaśāstra* (p. 38), while the *Vachabhānikas* or "Inspectors of cowpens" were evidently charged with the superintendence of "Vraja" referred to in Chapter 24 (pp. 59-60). The *Lipikaras* are the royal scribes one of whom, *Paṭa*, is mentioned by name in Minor Rock Edict II. *Dūtas* or envoys are referred to in Rock Edict XIII. If Kautilya is to be believed, they were divided into three classes, viz., *Nisṛiṣṭarthabāḥ* or Plenipotentiaries, *Parimitarthabāḥ* or Chargés d'Affaires and *Sāsanaharas* or conveyers of royal writ. The *Āyuktas* are local officials referred to only in the Kalinga Edicts.

THE MAURYA EMPIRE : THE ERA OF DHAMMAVIJAYA  
AND DECLINE.

1. *Aśoka after the Kalinga War.*

We have already seen that the Kalinga war opened a new epoch in the history of Magadha and of India. During the first thirteen years of his reign Aśoka was a typical Magadhan sovereign—the inheritor of the policy of Bimbisāra, of Mahāpadma and of Chandragupta—conquering peoples, suppressing revolt, annexing territory. After the Kalinga war all this is changed. The older political philosophy of Vassakāra and Kautilya gave way to a new state-craft inspired by the teaching of the sage of the Śākyas. Before proceeding to give an account of the remarkable change we should say a few words about the religious denominations of India and the condition of society during the reign of the great innovator.

In the days of Aśoka the people of India were divided into many sects of which the following were the most important :—

1. The orthodox Deva-worshippers.
2. The Ājīvikas or the followers of Gosāla Mañkhali-putta.
3. The Nirgranthas or Jainas, i.e., the followers of Nigantha Nāṭaputta who is commonly called Mavāvira or Vardhamāna.
4. The followers of Gautama Buddha Śakyamuni.

In Edict IV we have the following account of the prevailing state of society : "for a long period past, even for many hundred years, have increased the sacrificial slaughter of living creatures, the killing of animate beings, unseemly behaviour to relatives, unseemly behaviour to

Brahmanas and ascetics (*Sramanas*).<sup>1</sup> The kings used to go out on so-called *Vihāra-yātrās*<sup>2</sup> in which hunting and other similar amusements used to be practised.<sup>3</sup> The people performed various ceremonies (*māngala*)<sup>4</sup> on occasions of sickness, weddings of sons,<sup>5</sup> the weddings of daughters, the birth of children, and departure on journeys. The womankind performed many, manifold, trivial and worthless ceremonies.<sup>6</sup>

### The Change of Asoka's Religion.

Asoka himself was at first a Deva-worshipper. He had no scruple about the slaughter of men and animals; "formerly, in the kitchen of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King each day many hundred thousands of living creatures were slaughtered to make curries." The hecatomb of the Kalinga war has already been mentioned. The sight of the misery and bloodshed in that sanguinary campaign made a deep impression on him and awakened in his breast feelings of *anusochanam*, "remorse, profound sorrow, and regret." About this time he came under the influence of Buddhist teaching. We read in Rock Edict XIII "directly after the Kalingas had been annexed began His Sacred Majesty's zealous protection of the Law of Piety (*dharma-palanam*), his love of that Law (*dharma-kamata*), and his inculcation of that Law (*dharma-muṣati*)."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ajānatru's treatment of Jīmīśvara, Viśuddhīśva's massacre of the Sākyas, Udayana's cruelty towards Pṛibhūti, and Nanda's naughty demeanour towards Chākyas.

<sup>2</sup> Town of pleasure, cf. Mahābhārata, XV, 1, 18, Kastelya, p. 232.

Vidhuyātprāga puṣay Kurukṣe Yudhiṣṭhīrāḥ

Sarvān kāmaś ca mādīśājīḥ pāṇḍukāḥ Aśvīkāntu.

<sup>3</sup> R. Edict, VIII.

<sup>4</sup> See "Māngala," see also Jatakas No. 87, and No. 163 (Hattimangala).

<sup>5</sup> For Jayha and Vivha see also Mbh. V. 141. 14.

<sup>6</sup> R. Edict, IX.

Although Asoka became a Buddhist<sup>1</sup> he was not an enemy either of the Devas or the Brāhmaṇas. Up to the last he took pride in calling himself Devānampiṇḍiya. He found fault with unseemly behaviour towards Brāhmaṇas<sup>2</sup> and inculcated liberality to the same class. He was perfectly tolerant. "The king does reverence to men of all sects."<sup>3</sup> He reprobated Ātmapāśanda-puṭa when coupled with Para-pāśanda-garubā. That he was sincere in his professions is proved by the Barabar Cave Dedications to the Ājivika monks. His hostility was chiefly directed, not towards the Devas and the Brāhmaṇas, but the killing of men in war and Samājas, the slaughter of animals in sacrifice, and the performance of vulgar, useless and offensive ceremonies.

### The Change of Foreign Policy.

The effect of the change of religion was at once felt in foreign policy. The Emperor declared that "of all the people who were slain, done to death, or carried away captive in Kalinga, if the hundredth part or the thousandth part were now to suffer the same fate, it would be matter of regret to His Sacred Majesty. Moreover, should any one do him wrong, that too must be borne with by His Sacred Majesty, so far as it can possibly be borne with." In Kalinga Edict I, the Emperor expressed his desire that the unconquered peoples in the frontiers of his realm (*Amitā svijita*) "should not be afraid of him, that they should trust him, and should receive from him happiness not sorrow." The chiefest conquest in the Emperor's opinion was the conquest of the Law of Piety (Dhammavijaya). In Edict

<sup>1</sup> Sākya (Rūpāñdhī), Buddha Sākya (Maski), Upasaka (Sahassrām); see Uultzsch, CII, p. xlv. Cf. also Kalhaṇa, Rājatarangini, L. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Edict, IV.

<sup>3</sup> Edict, XII.

IV he exultingly says "the reverberation of the war-drums (*Bherighoso*) has become the reverberation of the Law (*Dhammighoso*)."<sup>1</sup> Not content with what he himself did he called upon his sons and even his grandsons to eschew new conquests—*putro papotra me asū navam vijayam ma vijetavijayam*. Here we have a complete renunciation of the old policy of *Digvijaya* and the enunciation of a new policy, *viz.*, that of *Dhammadvijaya*! The full political effects of this change of policy became manifest only after the death of Aśoka. From the time of Bimbisāra to the Kalinga war the history of India was the history of the expansion of Magadha from a tiny state in South Bihar to a gigantic Empire extending from the foot of the Hiuduknash to the borders of the Tamil country. After the Kalinga war ensued a period of stagnation at the end of which the process is reversed. The empire gradually dwindled down in extent till it sank to the position from which Bimbisāra and his successors had raised it.

True to his principle Aśoka made no attempt to annex the frontier (*Prachamita*) kingdoms, *viz.*, Chola, Pandya, Satiyaputra, Keralaputra, Tambraparni (Ceylon) and the realm of Āntiyako Yonarāja. On the contrary he maintained friendly relations with them.

The **Chola** country was drained by the river Kāverī and comprised the districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore. We learn from a South Indian inscription<sup>2</sup> that Hara asked Gunabhara, "How could I standing in a temple on earth, view the great power of the Cholas or the river Kāverī?" When Pulakesin II strove to conquer the

<sup>1</sup> The Aśokan conception of *Dhammadvijaya* was similar to that described in the *Chakrasati Gītānanda Sutta*, "conquest not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness" (Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, p. 59). It was different from the Hindu conception explained and illustrated by the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 50.88-89), the *Kautilya* (p. 392), and the *Raghurāmā* (IV, 48).

<sup>2</sup> Balsach, SII, Vol. I, p. 84.

Cholas "the Kāverī had her current obstructed by the causeway formed by his elephants."<sup>1</sup> The Chola capital was Uraiyyūr (Sanskrit Uragapura) or Old Trichinopoly.<sup>2</sup> The principal port was at Kāviripattinam or Pugār on the northern bank of the Kāverī.<sup>3</sup>

The Pāndya country corresponded to the Madurā, Rāmnad and Tinnevally districts and perhaps the southern portion of the Travancore state, and had its capitals at Kolkai and Madurā (Dakshīna Mathurā). The rivers Tāmraparṇī and Kṛitamālā or Vaigai flowed through it. Kātyāyāna derives Pāṇḍya from Pāṇḍu. The Pāṇḍus are mentioned as the ruling race of Indraprastha in the Mahābhārata as well as in several Jātakas. Ptolemy (cir. 150 A. D.) speaks of the country of the Pāndouoi in the Pañjab. There can be no doubt that Pāṇḍu was the name of a real tribe in northern India. Kātyāyāna's statement regarding the connection of the Pāṇḍyas with the Pāṇḍus receives some support from the fact that the name of the Pāṇḍya capital (Madurā) was identical with the famous city of Mathurā in the Śurasena country which, according to Epic tradition, was the seat of a family intimately associated by ties of friendship and marriage with the Pāṇḍus of Indraprastha. The connection between the Pāṇḍus, the Śurasenas, and the Pāṇḍyas seems to be alluded to in the confused stories narrated by Megasthenes regarding Herakles and Pandais.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Asina, however, has the following reference to the realm of Soms (Chola?) and its chief city: "There is a city which a man of royal extraction called Somas governed at the time when Eukratidas governed the Bactrians, and the name of that city is Perimadu. It is inhabited by a race of fish-eaters who go off with nets and catch oysters." For Uragapura in Cholka Vishnya see Bp. Ind., X. 103.

<sup>2</sup> For the early history of the Chola Kingdom and other Tamil states see CHL Vol. I, Ch. 26; Smith BH, Ch. XVI; Kanakasabhai Pillay, *Ten Little Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*; Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Beginnings of South Indian History and Ancient India*.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., 1177, v. 248.

Satiyaputra is identified by Mr. Venkatesvaraiyer<sup>1</sup> with Satya-vrata-kshetra or Kāñchipura. But Prof. K. Aiyangar points out that the term Satya-vrata-kshetra is applied to the town Kālchi or a part of it, not to the country dependent upon it. There is besides the point whether *vrata* could become *putra*. Mr. Aiyangar prefers Bhandarkar's identification with Saipute. He takes Satiyaputra to be a collective name of the various matriarchal communities like the Tulus and the Nāyars of Malabar.<sup>2</sup> According to Dr. Smith<sup>3</sup> Satiyaputra is represented by the Satyamangalam Taluk of Coimbatore. Mr. P. J. Thoma, however, prefers to identify it with "Saiyabhūmi" of the *Keralōlpatti*, a territory which corresponds roughly to "North Malabar including a portion of Kasergode Taluk, South Canara."<sup>4</sup>

**Keralaputra** (Ketalaputra or Obera) is "the country south of Kūpaka (or Satya), extending down to Kanneti in Central Travancore (Karunagapalli Taluk). South of it lay the political division of Mūshika."<sup>5</sup> It was watered by the river Periyar on the banks of which stood its capital Vañji (near Cochin) and at its mouth the seaport of Muziris (Kranganur).

**Ceylon** was known in ancient times as Pārasamudra<sup>6</sup> as well as Tamraparṇī (Greek Taprobane).<sup>7</sup> Tambapanī,

<sup>1</sup> JRAS, 1918, pp. 541-42.

<sup>2</sup> JRAS, 1915, pp. 581-584.

<sup>3</sup> Asoka, Third Ed., p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> JRAS, 1923, p. 412.

<sup>5</sup> JRAS, 1923, p. 413.

<sup>6</sup> Greek Palasimondū, see Ray Chaudhuri, Ind. Ant., 1919, pp. 196-80.

On reading Law's Ancient Hindu Polity (p. 87 n.) I find that the identification was also suggested by Mr. N. L. Dey.

<sup>7</sup> For other names of Ceylon see "Megasthenes and Arrian" published by Chakravarti and Chatterji, 1926, p. 60 n. For a short history of the island see Camb. Hist. Ind., Chap. XXV, and IHQ II. 1, p. 1ff. According to tradition recorded in the Dipavamśa and the Mahābhārata the first Aryan immigrants were led by Prince Vijaya of Lāla, whom the chroniclers represent as the great-grandson of a Princess of Vadga. The identification of Lāla is, however, open to controversy, some placing it in Gujarat,

i.e., Tamraparnī is mentioned in Rock Edicts II and XIII of Aśoka. Dr. Smith now<sup>1</sup> takes the word to mean not Ceylon but the river Tamraparṇī in Tinnerally. He refers to the Girnar text “ a Tambaparnī ” which according to him indicates that the river is meant not the island. Now, in Edict II the phrase “ a Tambaparnī ” comes after Ketalaputo and not after Pāḍa. The expression “ Ketalaputo as far as the Tamraparṇī ” is hardly appropriate, because the Tamraparṇī is a Pāṇḍya river. We, therefore, prefer to take Tamraparṇī to mean Ceylon. Aśoka's Ceylonese contemporary was Devānampiya Tissa whose accession may be dated about 251 or 247 B. C.

Aśoka maintained friendly relations not only with the Tamil powers of the south, but also with his Hellenistic frontager Antiochos Theos, king of Syria and Western Asia (B. C. 261-246); and even with the kings the neighbours of Antiochos, namely Ptolemy Philadelphos, king of Egypt (B. C. 285-247); Magas, king of Cyrene in North Africa (about B. C. 285-258); Antigonos Gonatas, king of Macedonia (B. C. 277-239); and Alexander who ruled over Epirus according to Norris, Westergaard, Lassen, Senart and Dr. Smith. Beloch and Hultsch, however, suggest<sup>2</sup> that Alikasudara of Edict XIII is Alexander of Corinth, son of Craterus (B. C. 252—cir. 244) and not Alexander of Epirus (272-cir. 255), son of Pyrrhus.

Though Aśoka did not covet the territories of his neighbours, there is evidence that he gave them advice on occasions, and established philanthropic institutions in

others identifying it with Bihar or Western Bengal. Barnett may be right in his assumption that the tradition of two different streams of immigration was knit together in the story of Vijaya.

<sup>1</sup> Aśoka, 3rd Ed., p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> JRAS, 1914, pp. 943ff.

their dominions. In other words he regarded them as objects of religious conquest (*Dhammavijaya*).

"My neighbours, too, should learn this lesson" (M. R. Edict I).

"Among his frontagers the Cholas, Pāndyas, the Satyaputra, the Ketalaputra as far as Tāmraparṇī, Antiochos the Greek king, and even the kings the neighbours of that Antiochos everywhere have been made healing arrangements of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King."

In Edict XIII Asoka declares that the "conquest of the Law of Piety,.....has been won by His Sacred Majesty.....among all his neighbours as far as six hundred leagues, where the king of the Greeks named Antiochos dwells, and to the north of that Antiochos (where dwell) the four kings named severally Ptolemy (Turamāyo), Antigones (Añtekina), Magas (Maga or Maka), and Alexander (Alikasudaro)—(likewise) in the south, the Cholas and Pandyas as far as Tambapamni.....Even where the envoys (*dutā*) of His Sacred Majesty do not penetrate, those people, too, hearing His Sacred Majesty's ordinance based upon the Law of Piety and his instruction in that Law, practise and will practise the Law."<sup>1</sup>

The Ceylonese chronicles do not refer to the envoys sent to the Tamil and Hellenistic kingdoms but name the missionaries sent to Ceylon and *Suvannabhumi* (Pegu and Moulmein according to Dr. Smith). The Ceylonese mission was headed by prince Mahendra. No reference to *Suvannabhumi* occurs in the Edicts hitherto discovered.

#### **The Change in Internal Policy.**

The effects of Asoka's change of religion after the Kalinga war were felt not only in foreign policy but

<sup>1</sup> For Buddhism in Western Asia, see Real, Si-yen-ki, II. : 78; and Albertini, p. 21.

also in internal affairs. The principal objects of his complaint according to Rock Edict IV and the Kalinga Edicts were :

1. The sacrificial slaughter (*śrambho*) of living creatures.
2. Violence (*vihimsā*) to animate beings.
3. Unseemly behaviour (*asampratipati*) to kinsmen (*jñāti*).
4. Unseemly behaviour to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.
5. Maladministration in the Provinces.

According to Rock Edict I, Asoka saw much offence not only in the sacrificial slaughter of animals, but also in certain Samājas or Gatherings which, as we learn from Kautilya (p. 45), were often witnessed by the Maurya Emperor.<sup>1</sup> The Samāja, says Smith, was of two kinds. The popular festival kind, accompanied by animal fights, heavy drinking and feasting, including much consumption of meat, was necessarily condemned by Asoka, as being inconsistent with his principles. The other kind, the semi-religious theatrical performance, sometimes given in the temples of Sarasvati, the goddess of learning, was apparently not included among offensive Samājas. Dr. Thomas<sup>2</sup> describes the disapproved Samāja as "a celebration of games or contests taking place in an arena or amphitheatre surrounded by platforms (*māñcha*) for spectators (*Prakshā*)."<sup>3</sup> This kind of Samāja is apparently referred to in the following lines of the Virāta parva of the Mahābhārata,

Ye cha kechin niyotsyanti Samājeshu niyodhakāḥ  
(Virāta, 2, 7).

<sup>1</sup> For the holding of Samājas in Magadha and in neighbouring countries see Mahābhārata III, 67 and 383.

<sup>2</sup> JRAS, 1814, pp. 302 ff.

Tatra Mallah samāpetur digbhyc rājan sahasrasah  
 Samśe Brahmano rājan tathā Paśupater api  
 Mahākāyah mahāviryāḥ Kālakañja ivāsurāḥ.

(*Ibid.*, 18, 15-16.)

The harmless Samāja is probably the one referred to in Vātsyayana's Kāmasūtra (Pakshasya māsasya vā prajñāte' hani Sarasvatyā bhavane nyuktanām nityam Samājah). According to Hultzsch the harmless Samāja refers to edifying shows.

Asoka determined to put a stop to the practices, referred to above, which he did not approve. At the same time he sought to improve the moral and material condition of the people to such an extent as to effect the "association of gods with men" (*cf.* Minor Rock Edict I). He did all this "in order that he might discharge the debt (which he owed) to living beings, (that) he might make them happy in this (world) and (that) they might attain heaven in the other (world)." The means employed to achieve this object may be classed under four heads:

1. Administrative reforms.
2. Dissemination of instructions in the Dhamma (Law of Piety).
3. Benevolent activity ; promotion of the welfare of man and beast.
4. Religious toleration and prevention of schism in the Buddhist church.

#### Administrative Reforms.

In the first place, Asoka instituted the Quinquennial and Triennial *Anusamīyōna* or Circuit of the Yutas, Rājukas, Prādeśikas, and Mahāmātras. Mr. Jayaswal and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. The Harivastu passage (Bhavishyaparva, Ch. 321) "Devatañām manusyāstān saharśas' Shavrattadit," Hultzsch, however, compares (xlv) Deva with Divyāñi rūpāṇi of Rock Edict IV.

Dr. Smith<sup>7</sup> are of opinion that the whole administrative staff from the Rājūka and the Prādeśika down to the Yuta could not possibly go on circuit at once every five years. They interpret the term as signifying a regular system of transfers from one station to another. But there is nothing in the text to show that ALL the officers were required to go on circuit AT ONCE. The *anusamyaṇa* of the Yutas, Rājūkas and Prādesikas was mainly intended for propaganda work. The *anusamyaṇa* of the Mahāmāṭras was specially instituted for the purpose of checking miscarriage of justice, arbitrary imprisonment, and torture in the outlying Provinces (Kalinga, Ujjayini and Takshashilā).

Secondly, Asoka created a number of new posts, e.g., *Dharma-mahāmāṭras* and probably *Dharmayutas*. The Dharma-mahāmāṭras were given a protective mission among people of all sects including the Brahmapas and the Nirgranthas or Jainas, and among the Yavanas, Kambojas, Gandhāras, Rāshṭrikas and all the Aparāntas. "Among servants and masters, Brāhmaṇas and the wealthy (ibhyas), among the helpless and the aged, they are employed in freeing from worldly cares their subordinates (in the department) of the Law of Piety. They are also employed on the revision of (sentences of) imprisonment or execution, in the reduction of penalties, or (the grant of) release, on the grounds of motive, having children, instigation, or advanced years.....At Pāṭaliputra and in all provincial towns, in the female establishments of the king's brothers and sisters, as well as of other relatives, they are everywhere employed." The Dharma-mahāmāṭras were further engaged everywhere in the imperial dominions among the Dharmayutas with regard to "the concerns of the Law, the establishment of the Law, and the business of alms-giving."

The emperor was naturally anxious to keep himself fully informed without delay about all public affairs, specially about the doings of the Mahāmātras on whom the success of his mission mainly depended. He therefore gave *special directions to the Pūrṇedakas* that when a matter of urgency committed to the Mahāmātras and discussed in the Parishad occasioned a division of opinion or adjournment (?), he must be informed without delay.

It is apparent from the Kaliṅga Edicts and Rock Edict VI that Aśoka kept a watchful eye on the Mahāmātras especially on those who administered justice in cities. But he was more indulgent towards his Rājukas who were "eager to serve him." To the *Rājukas* "set over many hundred thousands of people" the emperor granted *independence* in the award of honours and penalties in order that those officials might perform their duties confidently and fearlessly. He, however, wanted to maintain some uniformity in penalties as well as in procedure. For this reason he issued the following rule :—

"To condemned men lying in prison under sentence of death a respite of three days is granted."

Lastly, Aśoka issued certain regulations restricting slaughter and mutilation of animals, and up to the twenty-seventh year of his coronation effected twenty-five jail deliveries. This suggests, as has been pointed out by Hultzsch, that the emperor used to proclaim an amnesty to criminals at almost every anniversary of his coronation.

#### Measures adopted to disseminate Instructions in the Law of Piety.

The Law of Piety according to the Second Pillar Edict, consisted in Apasīnave, bahukayāne, dayā, dāne, sache, sochaye, "little impiety, many good deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity." In Minor

Rock Edict II the virtues of the Law which must be practised are thus stated "father and mother must be hearkened to; respect for living creatures must be firmly established; truth must be spoken. The teacher must be reverenced by the pupil, and fitting courtesy must be shown to relations." In Edict XIII we have the following "hearkening to superiors, hearkening to father and mother, hearkening to teachers (or elders), and proper treatment of friends, acquaintances, comrades, relatives, slaves<sup>1</sup> and servants, with steadfastness of devotion." Edict VII lays stress on "mastery over the senses, purity of mind, gratitude, and steady devotion."

We learn from Minor Rock Edict I that for more than two-and-a-half years Asoka was a lay disciple (*Upasaka*) without exerting himself strenuously. He then *entered*<sup>2</sup> the Saṅgha and began to exert himself strenuously. He issued the famous proclamation "Let small and great exert themselves," sent missions (*Vyūtha*)<sup>3</sup> to expound and expand his teaching, began to write the imperishable record of his purpose on the rocks and engraved it upon stone pillars wherever there were stone pillars in his dominions. Asoka at first utilised the existing administrative machinery for religious propaganda. He commanded his Parishad to inculcate the Dharma on the Yutas and ordered the latter as well as the Rajukas, and Pradesikas to inculcate the same while they set out for the *anusamṛyāna*. The dharma which they were to preach was explained thus :

<sup>1</sup> For the question of slavery in Maurya India, see Monahan, Early History of Bengal, 184-185.

<sup>2</sup> "Apprehended," according to Hultzsch, in whose opinion the two-and-a-half of Upasaka include the period which followed his "visit" (not "entry") to the Saṅgha. The contrary view is, however, supported by I-tsing who mentions an image of Asoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk.

<sup>3</sup> The interpretation of Vyūtha as missionary was pointed out by Sircar and accepted by Dr. Smith (Asoka, third Ed., p. 153). Prof. Bhundarkar takes Vyūtha or Vīryūtha to mean "officials on tour."

"An excellent thing is the hearkening to father and mother<sup>1</sup>; an excellent thing is liberality to friends, acquaintances, relatives, Brāhmaṇas and ascetics; excellent is abstention from the slaughter of living creatures; excellent is small expense with small accumulation."

When he had been consecrated thirteen years, Aśoka created the new officials called Dharma mabāmātras who were specially entrusted with the work of dbammādhīthāna and dhammavadhi, i.e., the establishment and increase of Piety.

The Emperor also exhibited spectacles of the dwellings of the gods (Vimānadassanā), spectacles of elephants (Hastidasanā), masses of fire (Agikbamdhāni) and other representations of a divine nature. Prof. Bhandarkar<sup>2</sup> refers to the Pāli Vimānavatthu which describes the splendour of the various celestial abodes (Vimānas) in order to induce listeners and spectators to lead good and unblemished lives and thereby attain to these. Aśoka seems to have made representations of these Vimānas and paraded them in various places. Hasti, according to Prof. Bhandarkar, is Sveto hasti, i.e., Buddha himself who is also described as "Gajatama," i.e., Gajottama. Hultzsch suggests that Hasti may refer to the vehicles of the four "Māhārājas," (guardians of quarters). As regards Agikamdhā (Agniskandha) Professor Bhandarkar draws our attention to the Jātaka No. 40 which refers to a blazing fire pit created by Māra on the surface of which the Bodhisattva strode and gave a bowl to a hungry Pachcheka Buddha and extolled alms-giving.<sup>3</sup> Others

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sigālovāda Suttanta (Dialogues of the Buddha, III, 179ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also the Fāmaka-Prāñikārya displayed by the Buddha at Śravasti while consisted in walking the six in various attitudes while emitting alternately flame and waves from the upper and lower parts of his body (Ponchar, the Beginnings of Buddhist Art, 152).

take Agikamda to refer to "radiant beings of another world."

While his officers were busy preaching the new Gospel, the Emperor himself did not remain idle. In his eleventh regnal year he "started on the path" leading to Sambodhi (*ayaya Sambodhim*<sup>2</sup>) and commenced the tours of Piety (*Dhammayātā*) in the place of the old tours of pleasure (*Vihārayātā*). In the tours of Piety this was the practice—visiting ascetics and Brāhmaṇas, with liberality to them; visiting elders, with largess of gold; visiting the people of the country (*Jansapada*) with instruction in the Law of Piety, and discussion of that Law. The memory of a pious tour in Aśoka's twenty-first regnal year (B.C. 249 according to Smith) is preserved by the Rummidevi and Nigali Sagar epigraphs in the Nepalese Tarai. These records prove that Aśoka visited the birth-place of Gautama and paid reverence to the stūpa of Konākamana, one of the former Buddhas.

In 242 B.C., according to Dr. Smith, Aśoka issued the Seven Pillar Edicts which contain a review of the measures taken during his reign for the "promotion of religion, the teaching of moral duty."

#### Benevolent Activity. Promotion of the Welfare of Man and Beast.

Aśoka abolished the sacrificial slaughter of animals and offensive Samājas and the massacre of living creatures to make curries in the imperial kitchen. Rock Edict VIII refers to the abolition of the vihārayātrās or tours of pleasure in which hunting and other similar amusements used to be practised. Pillar Edict V contains a code of

<sup>2</sup> Some scholars take Sambodhi to mean supreme knowledge. But Prof. Banerjee contends that Sambodhi is equivalent to the Bodhi Tree or the Mahabodhi Temple at Bodh Gaya. According to the Divyāvadāna (p. 303) Aśoka visited Bodhi in the company of the Sthavira Upagupta (Buitenz, CII, xlii).

regulations<sup>1</sup> restricting slaughter and mutilation of animals. Dr. Smith points out that the prohibitions against animal slaughter in this edict coincide to a considerable extent with those recorded in the *Arthashastra*.

The Emperor established healing arrangements in two kinds, namely, healing arrangements for men and healing arrangements for beasts. Medicinal herbs also, both for men and for beasts, wheresoever lacking, were imported and planted. Roots also and fruits, wheresoever lacking were imported and planted. On the roads wells were dug at intervals of 8 kos, flights of steps built for descending into the water, and banyan trees and mango groves planted for the enjoyment of man and beast.

Pillar Edict VII refers to the employment of superior officers (*Mukhyas*) in the distribution of alms, both the emperor's own and those of the queens and princes. One of the Minor Pillar Edicts refers to the donations of the second Queen Kārvāki, mother of Tivara: "Whatever gift has been given here by the second Queen—be it a mango-garden, or pleasure-grove, or alms house, or aught else—is reckoned as proceeding from that queen."

#### Religious Toleration and the Prevention of Schism in the Buddhist Church.

In Rock Edict XII the Emperor declares that he "does reverence to men of all sects, whether ascetics (*Pavajitāni*) or householders (*Gharastāni*) by gifts and various forms of reverence." That he was sincere in his professions is proved by the Barabar cave dedications in favour of the Ājivika ascetics, who were more akin to the Jainas than to the Buddhists.

The Emperor only cared for the "growth of the essence (*Sāra*) of the matter in sects." He says that

<sup>1</sup> *Dhammaniyamsa*, cf. Patanjali I.I.

"he who does reverence to his own sect while disparaging the sects of others wholly from attachment to his own, with intent to enhance the splendour of his own sect, in reality by such conduct inflicts the severest injury on his own sect." Concord (*Samavāyo*) is praised by him as meritorious (*Samavāyo eva sādhu*).

Just as Aśoka tried to secure concord among the various sects, so he wanted to prevent schism within the Buddhist church. Tradition affirms that a Buddhist Council was convened at Pātaliputra during his reign for the purpose of suppressing heresy. The Sārnāth Edict and its variants may be regarded as embodying the resolution of this Council.<sup>4</sup>

### The Success and Failure of Asoka.

Dr. Smith observes that Aśoka, by his comprehensive and well-planned measures of evangelization, succeeded in transforming Buddhism which was a local Indian sect into one of the great religions of the world. His teaching continued to bear wholesome fruit long after he had passed away. In the second century A. D. Queen Gautami Balasī takes pride in the fact that her son was "alien to hurting life even towards an offending enemy." (*Kitāparādhe pi satujane apanahisaruchi*.) Even in the fifth century A. D. the rest houses and free hospitals of Magadha excited the wonder and admiration of foreigners. The benefactions of Dharmāśoka were a source of inspiration to royal personages as late as the time of Govindachandra of the Gaharwār dynasty.

The political record of the great Maurya's early years was no less brilliant. His reign saw the final triumph of those centripetal forces that had been at work since the days of Bimbisara. The conquest of Kaliṅga

completed the unification of non-Tamil India under the hegemony of Magadha.<sup>1</sup>

But the policy of Dharmavijaya which he formulated after the Kalinga War was not likely to promote the cause for which a long line of able sovereigns from Bimbisāra to Bindusāra had lived and struggled. Dark clouds were looming in the north-western horizon. India needed men of the calibre of Puru and Chandragupta to ensure her protection against the Yavana menace. She got a dreamer. Magadha after the Kalinga War frittered away her conquering energy in attempting a religious revolution, as Egypt did under the guidance of Ichnaton. The result was politically disastrous as will be shown in the next section. Aśoka's attempt to end war met with the same fate as the similar endeavour of President Wilson.

According to Dr. Smith's chronology Aśoka died in 232 B. C., after a reign of about 40 years. A Tibetan tradition is said to affirm that the great Emperor breathed his last at Taxila.<sup>2</sup>

## *II. The Later Mauryas and the Decline of their Power.*

The Magadha Empire under Aśoka extended from the foot of the Hindukush to the borders of the Tamil country. But the withdrawal of the strong arm of Piyadasi was perhaps the signal for the disintegration of this mighty monarchy. "His sceptre was the bow of Ulysses which could not be drawn by any weaker hand." The provinces fell off one by one. Foreign barbarians began to pour across the north-western gates of the empire, and a time came when the proud monarchs of

<sup>1</sup> For Aśoka's achievements in the domain of art, see Smith, BPAIC, 13, 57 ff.; Aśoka<sup>2</sup>, p. 107 ff.; CHI, 618 ff.; Davel, ARI, 104 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The Oxford History of India, p. 116.

Pāṭaliputra and Rājagrīha had to bend their knees before the despised provincials of Andhra and Kaliṅga.

Unfortunately, no Kautilya or Megasthenes has left any account of the later Mauryas. It is impossible to reconstruct a detailed history of Aśoka's successors from the scanty data furnished by one or two inscriptions and a few Brāhmaṇical, Jaina and Buddhist works.

Aśoka had many children. In Pillar Edict VII, he pays attention to the distribution of alms made by all his children, and in particular to those made by the "Princes, sons of the Queens." It is to this last category that belonged some of the Kumāras who represented the Imperial authority at Takṣaśilā, Ujjayinī, Suvarṇagiri and Tosali. Tivara,<sup>1</sup> the son of queen Karuvākī, the only prince named in the inscriptions, does not appear to have mounted the imperial throne. Three other sons, namely, Kunāla (Suyasas?), Jālauka and Mahendra are mentioned in literature. It is, however, uncertain whether Mahendra was a son of Aśoka or his brother.

The Vāyu Purāṇa says that after Aśoka's death his son **Kunāla** reigned for eight years. Kunāla's son and successor was Bandhupālita, and Bandhupālita's dāyāda or heir was Indrapālita. After Indrapālita came Devavarman, Satadhanus and Brīhadratha.

The Matsya Purāṇa gives the following list of Aśoka's successors:—Dasaratha, Samprati, Satadhanvan and Brīhadratha.

The Vishnu Purāṇa furnishes the following names:—Suyaśas, Dasaratha, Śāṅgata, Sāliśūka, Somśarman, Satadhanvan and Brīhadratha.

The Divyāvadāna (p. 433) has the following names:—Sampadi, Vṛihaspati, Vṛishasena, Pushyadharman and Pushyamitra.

<sup>1</sup> For Tivara as a Magadhan name see the Book of Kindred Sayings II, p. 125-130.

The *Rājatarangini* mentions *Jalauka* as the successor of Aśoka in Kaśmir, while Taranatha mentions another successor *Virasena* who ruled in Gandhāra and was, as Dr. Thomas suggests, probably the predecessor of *Subhagasesa* of Polybius.<sup>1</sup>

It is not an easy task to reconcile the divergent versions of the different authorities. The reality of the existence of Kunāla is established by the combined testimony of the Purānic and Buddhist works (which represent him as the father of Saṃpadi) as well as the evidence of Jinasprabhasuri and Hemachandra, the well-known Jaina writers. The name Suyaśas found in the *Vishṇu* and the *Bhāgavata* Purānas was probably a biruda or epithet of this prince. Tradition is not unanimous regarding the accession of Kunāla to the imperial throne. He is reputed to have been blind. His position was, therefore, probably like that of Dhṛitarashṭra of the Great Epic and though nominally regarded as the sovereign, he was physically unfit to carry on the work of government which was presumably entrusted to his favourite son Samprati, who is described by the Jaina and Buddhist writers as the immediate successor of Aśoka.

Kunāla's son was Bandhupalita according to the *Vāyu* Purāṇa, Saṃpadi (Samprati) according to the *Divyāvadāna* and the Pātaliputrakalpa of Jinasprabhasuri, and Vigatāsoka according to Tāranātha.<sup>2</sup> Either these princes were identical or they were brothers. If the latter view be correct then Bandhupālita must be identified with Dasaratha whose reality is established by the brief dedicatory inscriptions on the walls of cave-dwellings at the Nāgarjuni Hills which he bestowed upon the Ājivikas. Dasaratha, who receives the epithet "devānampi" in the inscriptions,

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant. 1875, p. 352; Camb. Hist. Ind., p. 512.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant. 1875, 352.

was a grandson of Asoka according to the Matsya and Vishnu Purāṇas, and the predecessor of Samprati (variant Saṅgata) according to the same authorities.

Indrapālita must be identified with Samprati or Śaliśuka according as we identify Bandhupālita with Daśaratha or Samprati. "In the matter of the propagation of the Jaina faith, Jaina records speak as highly of Samprati as Buddhist records do of Asoka." The Pāṭaliputrakalpa of Jinaprabhasuri says, "in Pāṭaliputra flourished the great king Samprati, son of Kunala, lord of Bhārata with its three continents, the great Arhanṭa who established Vihāras for Śramanas even in non-Aryan countries." Dr. Smith shows good grounds for believing that the dominions of Samprati included Avanti and western India.

In his *Asoka*<sup>1</sup> he admits that the hypothesis that Asoka left two grandsons, of whom one (Daśaratha) succeeded him in his eastern and the other (Samprati) in his western dominions, is little more than a guess. The Jaina writers represent Samprati as ruling over Pāṭaliputra as well as Ujjayini. His name is mentioned in the Purāṇic list of Asoka's Magadhan successors.

The existence of Śaliśuka is proved not only by the testimony of the Vishnu Purāṇa but also by that of the Gārgī Saṃhitā<sup>2</sup> and the e Vāyu manuscript referred to by Pargiter. He may have been identical with Vṛihaspati, son of Samprati according to the Divyāvadāna.

Devavarman and Somaśarman are variant readings of the same name. The same is the case with Śatadhanus and Satadhanvan. It is not easy to identify Vrishasena

<sup>1</sup> Third Ed., p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Kero's Gārgī Saṃhitā, p. 87.

The Gārgī Saṃhitā says, "There will be Śaliśuka a wicked quarrelsome king. Unrighteous, although theorizing on righteousness (dharmaśādi aśākumikṣe) he cruelly oppresses his country."

and Pushyadharma; possibly they are merely birudas or secondary names of Devavarman and Śatadhanvan.

The last Imperial Maurya of Magadha, Brihadratha, is mentioned not only in the Purāṇas but also in Bāga's Harshacharita. He was assassinated by his general Pushyamitra Sunga who is wrongly described by the Divyāvadāna as of Maurya descent.

Petty Maurya kings continued to rule in western India as well as Magadha long after the extinction of the Imperial line. King Dhavala of the Maurya dynasty is referred to in the Kāpaswa inscription of A. D. 738.<sup>1</sup> Prof. Bhandarkar identifies him with Dhavalappadeva, the overlord of Dhanika mentioned in the Dabok (Mewar) inscription of A. D. 725.<sup>2</sup> Maurya chiefs of the Koṅkaṇ and Khāndesh are referred to in the Early Chalukya and Yādava epigraphs.<sup>3</sup> A Maurya Prince of Magadha named Pūrvavarman is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.

There can be no doubt that during the rule of the later Mauryas the Magadha Empire experienced a gradual decay. Asoka died about the year 232 B. C. Within a quarter of a century after his death a Greek army crossed the Hindakush which was the Maurya frontier in the days of Chandragupta and his grandson. The Yuga Purāṇa section of the Gōrgī Saṁhitā bears testimony to the decline of the Maurya power in the Madhyadeśa after the reign of Śaliśūka:

Tataḥ Śāketam ākramya Pañchālam Mathurāmstathā  
Yavanah dushtayikrāntah prāpsyati Kusumadhvajam

<sup>1</sup> Bamb. Gaz., I, Part 2, p. 284. Kāpaswa is in the Kotah state, Rajputana. It is not unlikely that Dhavala was a descendant of some princely Viceroy of Ujjain.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind., XII, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Bamb. Gaz. I, Part 2, pp. 283, 294. Böhler suggests (Ep. Ind. III, p. 188) that these Maurya chieftains of Koṅkaṇ were probably descendants of the princely viceroy of the Deccan. He also draws our attention to the family name 'More' which is met with in the Maharashtra country, and is apparently a corruption of 'Maurya'.

Tataḥ Pushpapure prāpte karddame prathite hite  
 Ākuṇā vishayā sarve bhavishyanti na sampśayaḥ.<sup>1</sup>

Where was now the power that had expelled the prefects of Alexander and hurled back the battalions of Seleukos? According to Mahāmahopadhyāya Haraprasad Sastri<sup>2</sup> a reaction promoted by the Brāhmaṇas had sapped the foundations of the Maurya authority and dismembered the empire.

Among the causes of the alienation of the Brāhmaṇas the foremost place is given to Aśoka's Edict against animal sacrifices. The Edict, in Pandit Sastri's opinion, was certainly directed against the Brāhmaṇas as a class and was specially offensive because it was promulgated by a Śūdra ruler. As to the first point we should remember that prohibition of animal sacrifices did not necessarily imply hostility towards Brāhmaṇas. Long before Aśoka Brāhmaṇa sages whose teachings have found a place in the Holy Sruti, the most sacred literature of the Brāhmaṇas, declared themselves in no uncertain terms against sacrifices, and in favour of Ahimsā. In the Mundaka Upanishad (1. 2. 7) we have the following Sloka :—

Plavā hyete adṛidhā yajñarūpa  
 Ashtādaśaktam avaranī yeshu karma  
 Etachchhreyo ye'bhinandanti mūḍbā  
 Jarāmūtyum te punarevāpi yanti.

"Frail, in truth are those boasts, the sacrifices, the eighteen in which this lower ceremonial has been told. Fools, who praise this as the highest good, are subject again and again to old age and death." In the Chhāndogya Upanishad (III. 17. 4) Ghora Āṅgirasa lays great stress on Ahimsā.

<sup>1</sup> Kerv, Brāhmaṇa Sākhī, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> JASB, 1910, p. 222.

As to the second statement we should remember that tradition is not unanimous in representing the Mauryas as Sūdras. The Purāṇas assert, no doubt, that after Mahāpadma there will be kings of Sūdra origin. But this statement cannot be taken to mean that all the Post-Mahāpadman kings were Sūdras, as in that case the Śūṅgas and the Kāryavas also will have to be classed as Sūdras. The Mudrārākshasa which calls Chandragupta a Sūdra, is a late work, and its evidence is contradicted by earlier books. In the Mahāparinibbānasutta the Moriyas (Mauryas) are represented as belonging to the Kshatriya caste. The Mahāvamīsa<sup>1</sup> refers to the Moriyas as a noble (kshatriya) clan and represents Chandragupta as a scion of this clan. In the Divyāvadāna (p. 370) Bindusāra, son of Chandragupta said to a girl "Tvaṁ Nāpiṇī aham Rāja Kshatriyo Mūrdhābhishiktaḥ kathaṁ mayaḥ sārdhaṁ samāgamo bhavishyati?" In the same work (p. 409) Aśoka says to one of his queens (Tishyarakṣitā) "Devi ahaṁ Kshatriyah katham palaḍḍuṁ paribhakshayami?" In a Mysore inscription Chandragupta is described as "an abode of the usages of eminent kshatriyas."<sup>2</sup> Kauṭīlya's preference of an "abhijāta" king seems also to suggest that his sovereign was born of a noble family.<sup>3</sup>

Having referred to the prohibition of animal sacrifices Pandit Sastri says: "this was followed by another edict in which Aśoka boasted that those who were regarded as gods on earth have been reduced by him into false gods. If it means anything it means that the Brāhmaṇas who were regarded as Bhūdevas or gods on earth had been shown up by him."

<sup>1</sup> Geiger's Translation, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Arthashastra, p. 828.

The original passage referred to above runs thus :—

Y (i)-imśya kalāya Jambudipasi amisa devā husu te  
dāni m (i) s-kaṭā.

Pandit Sastri followed the interpretation of Senart. But Prof. Sylvain Lévi has shown that the word *amisa* cannot stand for Sanskrit *ampishā*, for in the Bhabru edict we find *Musā* and not *Misā* for Sanskrit *mṛishā*. The recently discovered Mäski version reads *misibhūta* for *misarn-kaṭā* showing that the original form was *miśribhūta*. It will be grammatically incorrect to form *misibhūta* from Sanskrit *mṛishā*. The word *miśra* means mixed. And *miśribhūta* means "made to mix" or made to associate. The meaning of the entire passage is "during that time the men in India who had been unassociated with the gods became associated with them."<sup>1</sup> There is thus no question of "showing up" anybody. The true import of the passage has been pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar in the Indian Antiquary, 1912, p. 170.

Pandit Sastri adds that the appointment by Asoka of *Dharma-mahāmātras*, i.e., of superintendents of morals, was a direct invasion of the rights and privileges of the Brāhmaṇas. It is hardly correct to represent the *Dharma-mahāmātras* as mere superintendents of morals when their duties consisted in the establishment of the Law of Piety (which included liberality to Brāhmaṇas), the promotion of the welfare of the Yavanas, Kambojas, Gāndhāras, Rāshṭrikas, Brāhmaṇas and others, revision of sentences of imprisonment or execution, the supervision of the female establishments of the Emperor's brothers

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Apastamba Dharmasutra*, II. 7. 10. 1. "Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. Then the gods in reward of their sacrifice went to heaven, but men were left behind. Those men who perform sacrifices in the same manner as the gods did, dwell with the gods and Brahma in heaven." My attention was first drawn to this passage by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. Cf. also *Bharayāna* (III. 32.1) "Devatānāṁ manusyānāṁ sahavān" bhuवntada.

and other relatives, and the administration of alms-giving.<sup>1</sup> These duties were not essentially those of a superintendent of morals, and were not a direct invasion of the rights and privileges of the Brāhmaṇas. Moreover there is nothing to show that the Dharma-mahāmātras were wholly recruited from non-Brāhmaṇas.

Our attention is next drawn to the passage where Aśoka insists upon his officers strictly observing the principles of Daṇḍasamatā and Vyāvahārasamatā. Paṇḍit Sāstri takes the expressions to mean equality of punishment and equality in lawsuits irrespective of caste, colour and creed, and adds that this order was very offensive to the Brāhmaṇas who claimed many privileges including immunity from capital punishment.

The passage containing the expressions Daṇḍa-samatā and Vyāvahāra-samatā should not be divorced from its context and interpreted as if it were an isolated ukase. We quote the passage with the context below :—

"To my Rājukas set over many hundred thousands of people I have granted independence in the award of honours and penalties. But as it is desirable that there should be uniformity in judicial procedure (Vyāvahāra-samatā) and uniformity in penalties (Daṇḍa-samatā), from this time forward my rule is this—" To condemned men lying in prison under sentence of death a respite of three days is granted by me."

It is clear from the extract quoted above that the order regarding Vyāvahāra-samatā and Daṇḍa-samatā is to be understood in connection with the general policy of decentralisation which the Emperor introduced. Aśoka granted independence to the Rājukas in the award of penalties, but he did not like that the Daṇḍa and Vyāvahāra prevalent within the jurisdiction of one Rājuka

<sup>1</sup> Aśoka, third Ed., pp. 168-169.

should be entirely different from those prevailing within the jurisdiction of others.<sup>1</sup> He wanted to maintain some uniformity (*samatā*) both in *Danda* (penalties) as well as in *Vyavahāra* (procedure). As an instance he refers to the rule about the granting of a respite of three days to condemned men. The *Samatā* which he enforced involved a curtailment of the autonomy of the *Rājukas* and did not necessarily infringe on the alleged immunity of the Brāhmaṇas from capital punishment.

But were the Brāhmaṇas really immune from capital punishment in ancient India? The immunity was certainly not known to the Kuru-Pañchāla Brāhmaṇas who thronged to the court of Janaka. In the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* Upanishad (III, 9, 26) we have a reference to a Brāhmaṇa disputant who failed to answer a question of Yajñavalkya and lost his head. We learn from the *Pāñchavimśa* Brāhmaṇa<sup>2</sup> that a *Purohita* might be punished with death for treachery to his master. *Kautilya*, p. 229, tells us that a Brāhmaṇa guilty of treason was to be drowned. Readers of the *Mahābhārata* are familiar with the stories of the punishments inflicted on Mandavya and Likhita.<sup>3</sup> The life of a Brāhmaṇa was not so sacrosanct in ancient as in mediæval and modern India. We learn from the *Aitareya* Brāhmaṇa that king Harischandra of the Ikshvāku family did not scruple to offer a Brāhmaṇa boy as a victim in a sacrifice.

Against the surmises regarding the anti-Brāhmaṇical policy of Aśoka we have the positive evidence of some of his inscriptions which proves the Emperor's solicitude for the well-being of the Brāhmaṇas. Thus in Rock Edict III he inculcates liberality to Brāhmaṇas. In Edict IV he speaks with disapproval of unseemly behaviour towards

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for this suggestion to Mr. S. N. Majumdar.

<sup>2</sup> *Vedic Index*, II, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> *Adi*, 107 and *Sāti*, 23, 36.

Brāhmaṇas. In Edict V he refers to the employment of Dharma-mahāmāṭras to promote the welfare and happiness of the Brāhmaṇas.

Pandit Śāstri says further that as soon as the strong hand of Asoka was removed the Brāhmaṇas seemed to have stood against his successors. We have no evidence of any such conflict between the children of Asoka and the Brāhmaṇas. On the other hand if the Brāhmaṇa historian of Kaśmir is to be believed the relations between Jalauka, one of the sons and successors of Asoka, and the Brāhmaṇical Hindus were entirely friendly.

In conclusion Pandit Śāstri refers to the assassination of the last Maurya Emperor of Magadha by Pushyamitra Śunga and says, "We clearly see the hands of the Brāhmaṇas in the great revolution." But the Buddhist remains at Bhārhut erected "during the supremacy of the Sungas" do not bear out the theory which represents Pushyamitra and his descendants as the leaders of a militant Brāhmaṇism. Are inferences deduced from uncorroborated writings of late authors like Tāraṇāth to be preferred to the clear testimony of contemporary monuments? Even admitting that Pushyamitra was a militant Brāhmaṇist we fail to see how the decay and dismemberment of the Maurya Empire can be attributed primarily to him or his Brāhmaṇist followers. The Empire was a shrivelled and attenuated carcase long before the Sunga *coup d'état* of 185 B. C. We learn from the Rājatarangini that immediately after the death of Asoka one of his sons, **Jalauka**, made himself independent in Kaśmir and conquered the plains including Kanauj. If Tāraṇāth is to be believed another Prince, Virasena apparently wrested Gandhāra from the hands of his feeble successor at Pāṭaliputra. The loss of the northern provinces is confirmed by Greek evidence. We learn from Polybius

that about 206 B.C., there ruled over them a king named Sophagasesnus (*Subhāgasena*, probably a successor of Virasena). We quote the passage referring to the king below:—

"He (Antiochos the Great) crossed the Caucasus and descended into India; renewed his friendship with Sophagasesnus, the king of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army, leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus, the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to him."

It will be seen that Subhāgasena was a king and not a petty chief of the Kabul valley as Dr. Smith would have us believe. He is called "King of the Indians," a title which was applied by the Classical writers to great kings like Chandragupta and Demetrios. There is nothing in the account of Polybius to show that he was vanquished by the Syrian king in war or was regarded by the latter as a subordinate ruler. On the contrary the statement that Antiochos "renewed his friendship with Sophagasesnus, king of the Indians" proves that the two monarchs met on equal terms and friendly relations were established between them. The renewal of friendship on the part of the Greek king and the surrender of elephants on the part of his Indian brother only remind us of the relations subsisting between Chandragupta and Seleukos. Further the expression "renewal of friendship" seems to suggest that Subhāgasena had had previous dealings with Antiochos. Consequently he must have come to the throne sometime before 206 B.C. The existence of an independent kingdom in the north-west before 206 B.C. shows that the Maurya Empire must have begun to break up nearly a quarter of a century before the usurpation of Pushyamitra.

We have seen that the theory which ascribes the decline and dismemberment of the Maurya Empire to a Brähmagical revolution led by Pushyamitra Śunga does not bear scrutiny. Was the Maurya disruption due primarily to the Greek invasions? The earliest Greek invasion after Aśoka, that of Antiochos the Great, took place about 206 B.C., and we have seen that the combined testimony of Kalhaṇa and Polybius leaves no room for doubt that the dissolution of the empire began long before the raid of the Hellenistic monarch.

What then were the primary causes of the disintegration of the mighty empire? There are good grounds for believing that the government of the outlying provinces by the imperial officials was oppressive. Already in the time of Bindusāra ministerial oppression had goaded the people of Taxila to open rebellion. The *Divyāvadāna* says (p. 371) :—

“Atha Rājño Vindusārasya Takshasīla nama nagaram viruddham. Tatra Rājño Vindusāren Āśoko visarjitah... yāvat Kumāraschaturāngena balakāyena Takshasīlām gataḥ, śrutvā Takshasīlā nivāsināḥ paurāḥ pratyudgamyā cha kathayanti ‘na vayam Kumārasya viruddhbhāḥ nāpi Rājño Vindusārasya api tu dushkāmatyā asmākam paribbhavāḥ kurvanti.’”

“Now Taxila a city of Bindusāra's revolted. The king Bindusāra despatched Aśoka there.....while the prince was nearing Taxila with the four-fold army, the resident Paurs of Taxila, on hearing of it, came out to meet him and said :—‘ We are not opposed to the prince nor even to king Bindusāra. But these wicked ministers insult us.’ ”

Taxila again revolted during the reign of Aśoka and the cause was again the tyranny of the ministers. “Rājū-ośokasy-otterāpathe Takshasīlā nagaram viruddham...” Prince Kunāla was deputed to the

government of the city. When the prince went there the people said "na vayah Kumārasyaviruddha na rājū 'sokasy-āpi tu dushtatmano' matyā Agatyāsmākam apamānakurvanti."

The *Divyāvadāna* is no doubt a late work, but the reality of ministerial oppression to which it refers is affirmed by Aśoka himself in the Kalinga Edicts. Addressing the High officers (*Mahāmātras*) in charge of Tosali he says: "All men are my children; and just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the next, so also I desire the same for all men. You, however, do not grasp this truth to its full extent. Some individual, perchance, pays heed, but to a part only, not the whole. See then to this, for the principle of government is well established. Again, it happens that some individual incurs imprisonment or torture and when the result is his imprisonment without due cause, many other people are deeply grieved... Ill performance of duty can never gain my regard.... The restraint or torture of the townsmen may not take place without due cause. And for this purpose, in accordance with the Law of Piety, I shall send forth in rotation every five years such persons as are of mild and temperate disposition, and regardful of the sanctity of life... From Ujjain, however, the Prince for this purpose will send out a similar body of officials, and will not over-pass three years. In the same way—from Taxila."<sup>1</sup>

From the concluding words of the Edict it appears that official maladministration was not confined to the province of Kalinga. The state of affairs at Ujjain and Taxila was similar. It is thus clear that the loyalty of the provincials was being slowly undermined by ministerial

<sup>1</sup> Smith, Aśoka, third Ed., pp. 194-195.

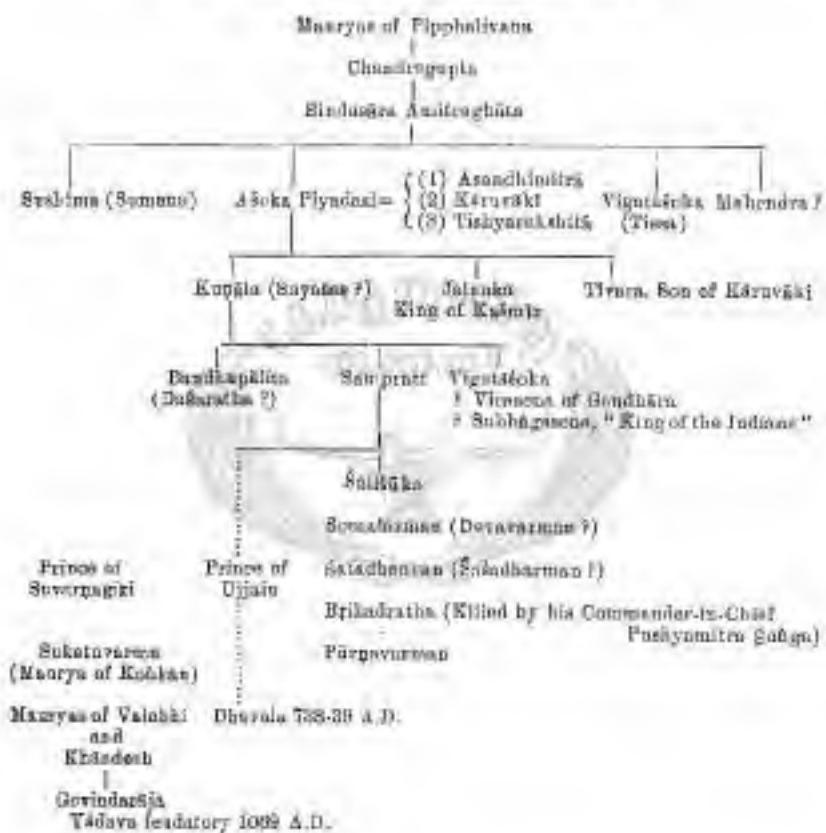
oppression long before the Śuṅga revolution of 185 B.C., and the Greek invasion of 206 B.C. Aśoka no doubt did his best to check the evil, but he was ill served by his officers. It is significant that the provincials of the north-west—the very people who complained of the oppression of the *dushṭāmātyas* as early as the reign of Bindusāra were the first to break away from the Maurya empire.

The Magadhan successors of Aśoka had neither the strength nor perhaps the will to arrest the process of disruption.<sup>1</sup> The martial ardour of imperial Magadha had vanished with the last cries of agony uttered in the battlefields of Kalinga. Aśoka had given up the aggressive militarism of his forefathers and had evolved a policy of Dhammavijaya which must have seriously impaired the military efficiency of his empire. He had called upon his sons and grandsons to eschew new conquests, avoid the shedding of blood and take pleasure in patience and gentleness. These latter had heard more of Dhammadhosa than of Bherighosa. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that the *rois faineants* who succeeded to the imperial throne of Pāṭaliputra proved unequal to the task of maintaining the integrity of the mighty fabric reared by the geniuses of Chandragupta and Chāṇḍragupta.

The disintegration which set in before 206 B.C. was accelerated by the invasions led by the Yavanas referred to in the Gārgī Sūkhīta and the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. The final *coup de grace* was given by Pushyamitra Śuṅga.

<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, if the Gārgī Sūkhīta is to be believed, one of his successors, namely, Śāhiśka actually quickened the pace by his tyranny—Sarāshipta incurred *gāvratā dharmaśāḍi adharmikāḥ*. Some of Aśoka's descendants (e.g., Jālakā) set up independent sovereignties, and were thus responsible for the dismemberment of the empire.

GENEALOGY OF THE MAURYA DYNASTY



## THE SUNGA EMPIRE AND THE BACTRIAN GREEKS.

### I. *The Reign of Pushyamitra.*

Bṛihadratha, the last Maurya Emperor of Magadha, was, according to the Purāṇas and the Harshacharita, assassinated by his general Pushyamitra Śunga who usurped the throne, and founded a new dynasty—that of the Sungas.

The origin of the Śunga family is wrapped up in obscurity.<sup>1</sup> According to one theory the Śungas were Irāpians, worshippers of the Sun (Mithra). Others regard them as Brāhmaṇas. Curiously enough Pāṇini in Sūtra IV. 1. 117 connects the Śungas with the well known Brāhmaṇa family of the Bharadvājas. Saungiputra, "son of a female descendant of Śunga," is the name of a teacher in the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.<sup>2</sup> Saungayani, "descendant of Śunga," is the name of a teacher in the Vaiśiṣṭa Brāhmaṇa. Macdonell and Keith point out that the Śungas are known as teachers in the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.<sup>3</sup> It is not known for certain when and why the Sungas, like the Kadambas of a later date, exchanged the ferule for the sword. There is no reason to think that Aśoka tyrannised over the Brāhmaṇas and that his oppression forced them to engage in non-priestly pursuits. Brāhmaṇa *Senāpatis* were by no means rare in ancient India (*cf.* the cases of Drona, Kripa and Aśvatthāman in the Mahābhārata and of Somesvara, the Brāhmaṇa general of the Pāla kings).

<sup>1</sup> In the *Mālavīśyācharitam* (Tawney's translation, p. 89) Agamitra claims descent from 'Bimbaka.' Mr. H. A. Shukla suggests (Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, p. 370) that the Bimbikas were connected with the family of Bimbisāra.

<sup>2</sup> VI. 4. 31.

<sup>3</sup> XII. 18. 5, etc.

The dominions of Pushyamitra extended to the river Narmadā, and included the cities of Pāṭaliputra, Ayodhyā, Vidisā, Bharhut and, if Tāranātha is to be believed, Jalandhara. It appears from the *Divyāvadāna*, p. 431, that the Emperor himself continued to reside in Pāṭaliputra. The *Mālavikāgnimitram* tells us that Vidisā was governed by Prince Agnimitra, probably as his father's viceroy. Another viceroy, also a relation of the emperor, governed Kosala.<sup>1</sup> Agnimitra's queen had a brother of inferior caste, named Virasena. He was placed in command of a frontier fortress on the banks of the Narmadā (*Atthi devle vanavaro bhādā Viraseno nama, so bhaṭṭīna antavāladugge Nammadatīre thāvido*). Lüders' Inscriptions, Nos. 687-688, seem to suggest that Bharhut (in Baghelkhand) was governed by a Śunga feudatory.

#### Affairs in the Deccan.

It appears from the *Mālavikāgnimitram* that the foundation of the Śunga dynasty synchronised with the establishment of a new kingdom in the Deccan, viz., *Vidarbha*. Agnimitra's Amātya refers to the kingdom as "achirādhish(hita)" (established not long ago) and compares its king to a tree which is newly planted and therefore not firm (*nava-saṅropapa-sīthile-staru*). The king of Vidarbha is represented as a relation of the Maurya minister (Sachiva) and a natural enemy (prakṛityamitra) of the Śungas. It appears that during the reign of Brīhadratha Maurya there were two parties or factions in the Magadha Empire, one headed by the

<sup>1</sup> The existence of this viceroyalty is disclosed by an inscription discovered at the door of a temple at Ayodhyā, which records the erection of a "ketana" by a Kusaldhipa who was the sixth (brother, son or descendant?) of Senapati Pushyamitra, the performer of two horse sacrifices (*Nāgari Pracharit Patrika*, Viiākhā, 1931; *Mod. Review*, 1924, October, p. 481).

king's Sachiva or minister, the other headed by his Senāpati or general. The minister's partisan Yajñasena was appointed governor of Vidarbha, while the general's son Agnimitra got the Viceroyalty of Vidisha. When the general organised his *coup d'état*, killed the king, and imprisoned the minister, Yajñasena apparently declared his independence and commenced hostilities against the usurping family. This is why he is called *achirādhish-thita-rājya* and *prakṛity-amitra* by Agnimitra and his Amātya.

The Mālavikāgnimitram says that when Kumāra Mādhavasena, a cousin of Yajñasena and a partisan of Agnimitra, was secretly on his way to Vidisha, he was captured by an Antapala (Warden of the Marches) of Yajñasena and kept in custody. Agnimitra demanded his surrender. The Vidarbha king promised to give him up on condition that his brother-in-law the Maurya minister should be released. This enraged the Sunga Prince who ordered Virasena to march against Vidarbha. Yajñasena was defeated. Madhavasena was released and the kingdom of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, the river Varadā forming the boundary between the two states.

In the opinion of several scholars an enemy more formidable than Yajñasena threatened the Sunga dominions from Kalinga. In his Oxford History of India<sup>1</sup> Dr. Smith accepts the view that **Kharavela**, king of **Kalinga**, defeated Pushyamitra who is called Bahapatimita or Bahasatimita in the Hāthigumpha Inscription. Prof. Dubreuil also seems to endorse the view that Kharavela was an antagonist of Pushyamitra, and that the Hāthigumpha Inscription is dated the 165th year of

<sup>1</sup> Additions and Corrections, and p. 68n.

Rāja-Muriyakāla which corresponds to the 13th year of the reign of Khāravela.

Dr. Majumdar, however, points out<sup>1</sup> that of the six letters of the Hāthigumpha Inscription which have been read as Bahasati-mitam, the second letter seems to have a clear *U* sign attached to it, and the third and fourth letters look like *pa* and *sa*. Even if the reading Bahasati-mitam or Bahaspati-mitam be accepted as correct, the identification of Bahasati (Bṛihaspatti-mitra) with Pushyamitra on the ground that Bṛihaspatti is the regent of the nakshatra or Zodiacal asterism Pushya, also named Tishya, in the constellation Cancer or the Crab, cannot be regarded as final in the absence of further evidence. In this connection we should note that the Divyāvadāna (p. 434) represents Pataliputra as the residence of Pushyamitra whereas the Magadhan antagonist of Khāravela is<sup>2</sup> called "Rājagahanapa" and apparently resided in the city of Rājagṛha.

The date "165th year of the Muriyakala" is deduced from a passage of the Hāthigumpha Inscription which was read as follows<sup>3</sup> :—

Pāṇamṛtiya-saṭhi-vasa-sata Rāja-Muriya-kāle vachchhine.

There is another passage in the same inscription which runs thus :—

Pāñchame cha dāni vase Nāmā-rāja ti-vasa-sata  
(m ?)—oghātītam Tanasuliya-vatā-pañcūśip Nagaram  
pavesa-ti.<sup>4</sup>

If Pāñamṛtiya-saṭhi-vasa-sata be taken to mean 165 years, ti-vasa-sata should be taken to mean 103 years and we shall have to conclude that Khāravela flourished 165

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., 1919, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> According to Luders' reading Ep. Ind. X. App. No. 1945.

<sup>3</sup> Jayaswal, JBOES, 1917, p. 459.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 458.

years after a Maurya king and only 103 years after Nandarāja which is impossible as the Nandas preceded the Mauryas. If, on the other hand, *ti-vasa-sata* be taken to mean 300 years, *pāṇamīriya-sathi-vasa-sata* should be taken to mean not 165 but 6,500 years. In other words Khāravela will have to be placed 6,500 years after a Maurya which is also impossible. Mr. Jayaswal has himself now given up the reading "pāṇamīriya-sathi-vasa-sata Rāja-Muriya-kale vochhhine cha chhe-ya(hi Argasi *ti kāmptariyam upādiyati*" in line 16, and proposes to read "pāṇatariya sata-sahasehi Muriya kalam vochhinam cha choyathi agasatikāmptariyam upādayati." He translates the expression beginning with Muriyakāla thus :—" he (the king) completes the Mariya time (era), counted, and being of an interval of 64 with a century."<sup>1</sup> With regard to this new reading and translation Professor Chanda observes<sup>2</sup> " the rendering of *vochhhine* as 'counted' is even more far-fetched than 'expired.' The particle *cha* after *vochhhine* makes it difficult to read it as *vochhinam* qualifying the substantive *Muriyakālam*. Even if we overlook *vochhhine*, the passage appears to be a very unusual way of stating a date. Still more unusual is the statement of a date as an independent achievement in a *prāsasti*." It may be added that there is no reliable evidence of the existence of a Rāja-Muriya-kāla<sup>3</sup> in the sense of an era founded by the first Maurya.

Mr. Jayaswal takes *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 300 years and places Khāravela and Pushyamitra three centuries after Nandarāja whom he identifies with Naudavardhana.

<sup>1</sup> JHORS, Vol. IV, Part iv.

<sup>2</sup> M. A. S. I., No. 1, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> An era of Samprati, grandson of Asoka, is however, mentioned in an ancient Jain Ms. (SII<sup>1</sup> p. 222n). If we refer the year 164 to this era, the date of Khāravela must be brought down to (Or 224—164=) 60 B.C.

But we have already seen that Nandavardhana or Nandivardhana was a Śaiśunāga king, and that the Śaiśunāgas do not appear to have had anything to do with Kaliṅga. "It is not Nandivardhana but Mahāpadma Nanda who is said to have brought 'all under his sole sway' and 'uprooted all Kshatriyas' or the old reigning families. So we should identify Namdarīja of the Hāthigumpha inscription who held possession of Kaliṅga either with the all-conquering Mahāpadma Nanda or one of his sons."<sup>1</sup> As Mahāpadma and his sons ruled in the fourth century B.C., Khāravela must be assigned either to the third century B.C. (taking *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 103) or to the first century B.C. (taking *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 300). In either case he could not have been a contemporary of Pushyamitra Śunga who ruled from about 185 to 149 B.C.

### The Yavana Invasion.

The only undoubted historical events of Pushyamitra's time, besides the *coup d'état* of 185 B.C. and the Vidarbha war, are the Greek invasion from the North-West referred to by Patañjali and Kalidasa, and the celebration of the horse sacrifice.

Patañjali was a contemporary of Pushyamitra. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar draws our attention to the passage in the Mahābhāṣya—*iha Pushyamitram yājyāmaḥ* “here we perform the sacrifices by Pushyamitra”—which is cited as an illustration of the Vārtika teaching the use of the present tense to denote an action which has been begun but not finished.<sup>2</sup> The instances given by Patañjali of the use of the imperfect to indicate an action well-known to people, but not witnessed by the speaker, and still

<sup>1</sup> M. A. S. I., No. I, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., 1872, p. 300.

possible to have been seen by him, are, "Arunad Yavānāḥ Sāketam: Arunad Yavano Madhyamikām." This, says Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, shows that a certain Yavāna or Greek prince had besieged Saketa or Ayodhyā and another place called *Madhyamika*<sup>1</sup> when Patañjali wrote this. Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitram* refers to a conflict between the Śuṅga prince Vasumitra and a Yavāna on the southern bank of the Sindhu. Unfortunately the name of the invader is not given either in the *Mabābhāṣya* or the *Mālavikāgnimitram*. There is a considerable divergence of opinion with regard to his identity. But all agree that he was a Bactrian Greek.

The Bactrian Greeks were originally subjects of the Seleukidan Empire of Syria (and Western Asia). We learn from Strabo, Trogus and Justin that "about the middle of the third century B.C. when the Seleukid rulers were pre-occupied in the west" Diodotos or Theodotus, "Governor of the thousand cities of Bactria," revolted and assumed the title of king. He was succeeded, according to Justin, by his son Theodotus II who entered into an alliance with Arsakes who about this time tore Parthia from the Seleukidan Empire.

The successor of Theodotus II (Diodotes II) was Euthydemos. We learn from Strabo<sup>2</sup> that Euthydemos and his party occasioned the revolt of all the country near the province of Bactriana. We are told by Polybius that Antiochos III of Syria made an attempt to recover the lost provinces but afterwards made peace with Euthydemos. The historian says "Antiochos the Great received the young prince (Demetrios, son of Euthydemos) and judging from his appearance, conversation and the dignity of his manners that he was worthy of royal

<sup>1</sup> Near Chitor; cf. Msh, II, 328.

<sup>2</sup> H. & F.'s Ed., Vol. II, p. 251.

honour he first promised to give him one of his daughters, and secondly, conceded the royal title to his father. And having on the other points caused a written treaty to be drawn up and the terms of the treaty to be confirmed on oath, he marched away, after liberally provisioning his troops, and accepting the elephants belonging to Euthydemos. He crossed the Caucasus and descended into India; renewed his friendship with Sophagasesenus, the king of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army, leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus, the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to him."

Not long after the expedition of Antiochos the Great, the Bactrian Greeks themselves formed the design of extending their kingdom by the conquest of the territories lying to the south of the Hindukush. Strabo says "the Greeks who occasioned its (Bactria's) revolt became so powerful that they became masters of Ariana and India, according to Apollodorus of Artemita. Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis<sup>1</sup> to the east and reached Isamus<sup>2</sup>) conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrios, son of Euthydemos, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene (Indus Delta), but of the kingdoms of Saraostos (Surashtra or Kathiawar), and Sigerdis (probably Sagaradvipa of the Mahâhhârata, II. 31, 66, Cutch?) which constitute the remainder of the coast. Apollodorus in short says that Bactriana is the

<sup>1</sup> i.e., the Hyphasis or Vipâdi (the Beas).

<sup>2</sup> The Trisamî? In the Bhagavata Purâna (V. 10, 17) a river of this name is mentioned in conjunction with the Kausiki, Maudâkinî, Yamuna, etc.

ornament of all Ariana. They extended their empire even as far as the Seres and Phryni."<sup>1</sup>

Strabo gives the credit for spreading the Greek dominion furthest to the east into India partly to Menander and partly to Demetrios, son of Euthydemus and son-in-law of Antiochos the Great.

**Menander** has been identified with the king Milinda who is mentioned in the *Milindapañño* as a contemporary of the Buddhist Thera Nagasena. This monarch was born at Kalsigrāma<sup>2</sup> in the Island of Alasanda or Alexandria<sup>3</sup> and had his capital at Sāgala or Śikala, modern Siālkot, in the Pañjāb,<sup>4</sup> and not at Kābul as Dr. Smith seemed to think.<sup>5</sup> The extent of his conquests is indicated by the great variety and wide diffusion of his coins which have been found over a very wide extent of country, as far west as Kābul, and as far east as Mathurā.<sup>6</sup> The author of the *Periplus* states that small silver coins, inscribed with Greek characters and bearing the name of Menander were still current in his time (cir. 60-80 A.D.) at the port of Barygaza (Broach). Plutarch tells us that Menander was noted for justice, and enjoyed such popularity with his subjects that upon his death which took place in camp, diverse cities contended for the possession of his ashes. The statement of Plutarch is important as showing that Menander's dominions included many cities.

**Demetrios** has been identified by some with king Dattamitra mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>7</sup> the "great Emetreus, the king of Inde"<sup>8</sup> of Chaucer's *Knights Tale*

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, Hamilton and Falconer, Vol. II, pp. 252-253.

<sup>2</sup> Treucler, *Milindapañño*, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 82; CHI, 550.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 8, 14.

<sup>5</sup> CHI, 1914, p. 225.

<sup>6</sup> SBE, Vol. XXXV, p. xx.

I. 139, 28.

and Timita of a Besnagar seal.<sup>1</sup> The wide extent of his conquests is proved by the existence of several cities named after him or his father in Afghanistan as well as India. Thus in the work of Isidore of Charax<sup>2</sup> we have a reference to a city named Demetrias polis in Arachosia. The *Mahābhāshya* and the *Vyākaraṇa* of Kramadīvara mention a city in Sauvira called Dattamitri.<sup>3</sup> Ptolemy the Geographer mentions the city of Euthymedia (Euthymēdia?) which was identical with Śākala<sup>4</sup>; and was, according to the *Milindapañha*, the capital of the Indo-Greek Empire in the time of Menander.

It is permissible to conjecture that one of the two conquering kings, *viz.*, Menander and Demetrios, was identical with the Yavana invader who penetrated to Śāketa in Oudh, Madhyamikā near Chitor, and the river Sindhu in Central India, in the time of Pushyamitra. Goldstücker, Smith and many other scholars identified the invader with Menander who crossed the Hypanis and penetrated as far as the Isamus (Trisāmū<sup>5</sup>?). On the other hand, Prof. Bhandarkar suggested, in his *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population*, the identification of the invader with Demetrios. We learn from Polybius that Demetrios was a young man at the time of Antiochus III's invasion cir. 206 B. C. Justin says that Demetrios was "king of the Indians" when Eukratides was king of the Bactrians and Mithridates was king of the Parthians. "Almost at the same time that Mithridates ascended the throne among the Parthians, **Eukratides** began to reign among the Bactrians; both of them being great men..."

<sup>1</sup> EHI, pp. 254-255.

<sup>2</sup> JRAS, 1915, p. 390.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., 1911, *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population*; Bomb. Gaz., I. B. 11; Kramadīvara, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., 1926, pp. 348-350.

<sup>5</sup> Trisāmū is a river mentioned in the *Bhagavata Purāna*, together with the Kauśiki, Mandakini, Yamunā, etc.

Eukratides carried on several wars with great spirit, and though much reduced by his losses in them, yet, when he was besieged by Demetrios, king of the Indians, with a garrison of only 300 soldiers, he repulsed, by continual sallies, a force of 60,000 enemies." Dr. Smith assigns Mithridates to the period from 171 to 136 B. C. Eukratides and Demetrios must also be assigned to that period, that is, the middle of the second century B. C.

We have seen that Demetrios was a young man and a prince in 206 B. C. We now find that he ruled as king of the Indians in the middle of the second century B. C. He was, therefore, the Indo-Greek contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga who ruled from 185 to 149 B. C. Menander, on the other hand, must have ruled over the Indo-Greek kingdom much later, as will be apparent from the facts noted below. Justin tells us that Demetrios was deprived of his Indian possessions by Eukratides.<sup>1</sup> Eukratides was killed by his son with whom he had shared his throne.<sup>2</sup> The identity of the parricide is uncertain but no one says that he was Menander.<sup>3</sup>

Justin furnishes the important information that the prince who murdered Eukratides was a colleague of his father. We know that Greek rulers who reigned conjointly sometimes issued joint coins. Thus we have joint coins of Lysias and Antialkidas, of Strato and Agathokleia, of Strato I and Strato II, and of Hermaios and

<sup>1</sup> Watson's Ed., p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277.

<sup>3</sup> According to Cunningham and Smith the parricide was Apollodotus. But Rapson shows good reasons for believing that Apollodotus did not belong to the family of Eukratides, but was, on the other hand, a ruler of Kapisa who was ousted by Eukratides (J.R.A.S., 1903, pp. 784-785). Rawlinson points out (*Intercourse between India and the Western World*, p. 78) that Apollodotus uses the epithet Philopator, and the title would be somewhat incongruous if he were a parricide. It may be argued that the parricide was Apollodotus Soter and not Apollodotus Philopator, but we should remember that the titles Soter and Philopator sometimes occur on the same coin (Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins, p. 48) and therefore it is impossible to justify the separation of Apollodotus Soter and Apollodotus Philopator as two entities.

Calliope. The only Greeks whose names and portraits appear on a coin together with those of Eukratides are Heliokles and his wife Laodike. Gardner suggested that Heliokles and Laodike were the father and mother of Eukratides. But Von Sallet<sup>1</sup> proposed an entirely different interpretation of the coins in question. He thought that they were issued by Eukratides, not in honour of his parents, but on the occasion of the marriage of his son Heliokles with a Laodike whom Von Sallet conjectured to have been daughter of Demetrios by the daughter of Antiochos III. If Von Sallet's conjecture be accepted then it is permissible to think that Heliokles was the colleague of Eukratides referred to by Justin, and the murderer of his father.

It is clear from what has been stated above that Demetrios was succeeded by Eukratides, who, in his turn, was followed by Heliokles. Menander could not have reigned earlier than Heliokles. It may, however, be argued that after Demetrios the Indo-Greek kingdom split up into two parts, one part which included the Trans-Indus territories was ruled by Eukratides and his son, the other part which included Euthymedia or Sakala was ruled by Menander who thus might have been a younger contemporary of Eukratides (cir. 171 B.C.) and consequently of Pushyamitra Sunga (cir. 185-149 B.C.).

Now, the disruption of the Indo-Greek kingdom after Demetrios may be accepted as an historical fact. The existence of two rival Greek kingdoms in India and their mutual dissensions are proved by literary and numismatic evidence. The Purāṇas say :—

Bhavishyantha Yavana dharmataḥ kāmato'rthatataḥ  
naiva mordhābhishiktās te bhavishyanti narādhipāḥ

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., 1890, p. 256.

yuga-dosha-durāchārā bhavishyanti nṛpās tu te  
strinām bala-vadhenaiwa hātā chaiva parasparam

"There will be Yavanas here by reason of religious feeling or ambition or plunder; they will not be kings solemnly anointed but will follow evil customs by reason of the corruptions of the age. Massacring women and children and *killing one another*, kings will enjoy the earth at the end of the Kali age."<sup>1</sup>

The Gārgī Samhitā says—

Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti Yavanā yuddha durmadāb  
Teshān anyonya sambhāvā (?)bhavishyanti na saṁśayāb  
Ātma-chakrothtitām ghorām yuddhanā parama-dāruṇam

"The fiercely fighting Greeks will not stay in the Madhyadeśa; there will be a cruel, dreadful war in their own kingdom, caused between themselves."<sup>2</sup>

Coins bear testimony to struggles between kings of the house of Eukratides and kings of the family of Euthydemos. But the evidence which we have got clearly indicates that the contemporaries and rivals of Eukratides and Heliokles were **Apollodotos**, **Agathokleia** and **Strato I**, and not Menander. Certain square bronze coins of Eukratides have on the obverse a bust of the king and the legend Basileus Megalou Eukratidou. On the reverse there is the figure of Zeus and the legend "Kavisiye nagara-devatā." They are often coins of Apollodotos restruck.<sup>3</sup> From this it is clear that Apollodotos was a rival of Eukratides and was superseded in the rule of Kāpiṣa by the latter. Rapson further points out<sup>4</sup> that Heliokles restruck the coins of

<sup>1</sup> Pargiter.

<sup>2</sup> Kern, Br̄hat Samhitā, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Rapson, JRAS, 1905, 786.

<sup>4</sup> JRAS, 1905, pp. 165 ff.

Agathokleia and Strato I ruling conjointly. Further, the restriking is always by Heliokles, never by Agathokleia and Strato I. From this it is clear that Agathokleia and Strato I ruled over an Indo-Greek principality either before, or in the time of Heliokles, but not after him.

We have seen that according to the evidence of Justin and the Kapiśa coins Eukratides fought against two rivals, namely, Demetrios and Apollodotos, his son Heliokles also fought against two rivals, namely, Agathokleia and Strato I. As Demetrios and Apollodotos were both antagonists of Eukratides and used the same coin-types, the inevitable inference is that they were very near in time as well as in relationship to one another, in fact that one immediately followed the other. Now Demetrios was beyond doubt the son and successor of Euthydemos, consequently Apollodotos must have been his successor.

As Heliokles was a son of Eukratides, the rival of Apollodotos, he must have been a younger contemporary of Apollodotos. Consequently Heliokles' antagonists Agathokleia and Strato I, whose coins he restruck, were very near in time to Apollodotos. Strato I later on ruled conjointly with his grandson Strato II. There is no room for the long and prosperous reign of Menander in the period which elapsed from Demetrios to Strato II. According to the Buddhist tradition recorded in the Milindapañha, Milinda or Menander flourished "500 years"<sup>1</sup> after the Parinirvāna, parinibbānato pañchavassa sate atikkante etc upajjissanti.<sup>2</sup> This tradition probably points to a date in the first century B. C. for Menander. Thus both according to numismatic evidence and literary tradition Menander could not have been

<sup>1</sup> i.e., in the 5th century (*cf.* Smith EHI, 3rd edition, 328).

<sup>2</sup> Transl., the Milinda-pañha, p. 8.

the Indo-Greek contemporary of Pushyamitra Śunga. It is Demetrios who should, therefore, be identified with the Yavana invader referred to by Patañjali and Kālidāsa, one of whose armies was defeated by Prince Vasumitra.

### The Aśvamedha Sacrifice.

After the victorious wars with Vidarbha and the Yavanas Pushyamitra celebrated a horse-sacrifice. This sacrifice is regarded by some scholars as marking an early stage in the Brāhmaṇical reaction which was fully developed five centuries later in the time of Samudra Gupta and his successors. Late Buddhist writers are alleged to represent Pushyamitra as a cruel persecutor of the religion of Śākyamuni. But the Buddhist monuments at Bhārhut erected "during the supremacy of the Sungas" do not bear out the theory that the Śungas were the leaders of a militant Brāhmaṇism. Though staunch adherents of orthodox Hinduism the Śungas do not appear to have been so intolerant as some writers represent them to be.

### The Mantriparishad in the Sunga Period.

If Kālidāsa is to be believed the Mantriparishad (Assembly of Councillors or Council of Ministers) continued to be an important element of the governmental machinery during the reign of Pushyamitra. The poet gives us the important information that even the viceregal princes were assisted by Parishads.<sup>1</sup> The Mālavikāgnimitram refers in clear terms to the dealings of Prince Agnimitra, the Viceroy of Vidiṣā, with his Parishad :

<sup>1</sup> Bühl (Ep. Ind. III. 137) points out that Akōśa's Kumāras were also each assisted by a body of Mahādūtas. These probably correspond to the Kumārāstiyas of the Gupta period.

"Deva evam Amātya-parishado vijñapayāmi"<sup>1</sup>

"Mantri-parishado'pyetad-eva darsanam

Dvidhā vibhaktām śriyam-udvahantau  
dhurām rathāśvāviva samgrahituh  
tau sthāsyatas-te nrīpater nideśe  
paraspar-āvagraha-nirvikarau<sup>2</sup>

Rājā: tena hi Mantri-parishadām brūhi senānye Vīrasenāya  
likhyatām-evāṁ kriyatām iti."<sup>3</sup>

It seems that the Amātya-parishad or Mantri-parishad was duly consulted whenever an important matter of foreign policy had to be decided.

## *II. Agnimitra and his Successors.*

Pushyamitra died in or about 149 B.C. after a reign of 36 years, and was succeeded by his son **Agnimitra**. The name of a prince named Agnimitra has been found on several copper coins discovered in Rohilkhand. Cunningham<sup>4</sup> was of opinion that this prince was probably not a Śunga, but belonged to a local dynasty of North Pāñchāla (Rohilkhand). He gave two reasons for this conclusion :

1. Agnimitra's is the only coin-name found in the Purāṇic lists. The names of the other Mitra kings do not agree with those found in the Purāṇas.

2. The coins are very rarely found beyond the limits of North Pāñchāla.

<sup>1</sup> "King ! I will announce this decision to the Council of Ministers."

<sup>2</sup> "This is also the view of the (Council of) Ministers. Those two kings, upbearing the fortune of their superior lord divided between them, as the horses upbear the yoke of the charioteer, will remain firm in their allegiance to thee, not being distracted by mutual attacks."

<sup>3</sup> "King : Tell the Council them to send to the General Virasena written instructions to this effect." (Tawney, Mālavikāgnimitra, pp. 89-90.)

Coins of Ancient India, p. 79.

As to the first point Rivett-Carnac<sup>1</sup> and Jayaswal<sup>2</sup> have shown that several coin-names besides that of Agnimitra can be identified with those found in the Purānic lists of Śunga and Kānya kings; for example, Jethamitra may be identified with the successor of Agnimitra, Vasu-Jyeshtha or Su-Jyeshtha who is called simply Jyeshtha in the *k* Vishṇu manuscript.<sup>3</sup> Bhadraghosha may be identified with Ghosha the seventh king of the Purānic list of Śunga kings. Bhumimitra may be identified with the Kānya king of that name. Several names indeed cannot be identified, but they may have been names of those Śungas who survived the usurpation of Vasudeva Kānya, and the remnant of whose power was destroyed by the Andhra(bhritya)s and Śiśunandi.<sup>4</sup>

As to the second point we should remember that Mitra coins have been found at Kauśambi, Ayodhyā and Mathurā as well as in Pañchāla. Names of two Mitra kings Brahmagupta and Indramitra are found engraved on two rail pillars at Budh Gaya as well as on coins discovered at Mathurā and North Pañchāla. In the face of these facts it is difficult to say that the Mitras were a local dynasty of North Pañchāla.

Agnimitra's successor, as we have already seen, was Jyestha of the *k* Vishṇu manuscript who is very probably identical with Jethamitra of the coins.<sup>5</sup>

The next king **Vasumitra** was a son of Agnimitra. During the life-time of his grandfather he had led the Śunga army against the Yavanas and defeated them on the Sindhu (in Central India) which probably formed the boundary between the Śunga and Indo-Greek dominions.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., 1880, 311.

<sup>2</sup> JBOBS, 1917, p. 479.

<sup>3</sup> Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 31, n. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 49.

<sup>5</sup> Coins of Ancient India, p. 74.

Vasumitra's successor is called Bhadraka in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Ādraka and Odruka in the Viṣṇu, Andhraka in the Vāyu, and Antaka in the Matsya Purāṇa. Mr. Jayaswal identifies him with Udāka mentioned in a Pabbosā Inscription which runs thus : "By Āśādhasena, the son of Gopāli Vaihīdari and maternal uncle of king Bahasatimitra, son of Gopāli, a caye was caused to be made in the tenth year of Udāka for the use of the Kassapiya Arhats." We learn from another Pabbosā Inscription that Āśādhasena belonged to the royal family of Adhichhatrā, the capital of North Pañchāla. Mr. Jayaswal maintains that Odraka (Udāka) was the paramount Śunga sovereign, while the family of Āśādhasena was either gubernatorial or feudatory to the Magadha throne. Marshall,<sup>1</sup> on the other hand, identifies the fifth Śunga with king Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra mentioned in a Garuda Pillar Inscription found in the old city of Vidiśā, now Besnagar. Mr. Jayaswal identifies Bhāga-bhadra with Bhāga Śunga, i.e., Bhāgavata of the Purāṇas. This theory has to be given up in view of the discovery of another Besnagar Garuda Pillar Inscription (of the twelfth year after the installation of Mahārāja Bhāgavata) which proves that there was at Vidiśā a king named Bhāgavata apart from king Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra. In the absence of clear evidence connecting Udāka with Vidiśā it cannot be confidently asserted that he belonged to the house of Agnimitra and Bhāgavata. The view of Marshall seems to be more probable.

It appears that the successors of Agnimitra at Vidiśā cultivated friendly relations with the Greek sovereigns of the Pañjab. The policy of the Bactrian Greeks in this respect resembled that of their Seleukidan predecessors. Seleukos, we know, first tried to conquer the Magadha

<sup>1</sup> A Guide to Bāhākti, p. 22 n.

Empire, but being frustrated in his attempts thought it prudent to make friends with the Mauryas. The Bactrians, too, after the reverses they sustained at the hands of Pushyamitra's general, apparently gave up, for a time at least, their hostile attitude towards the Sungas. We learn from the Besnagar Inscription of the reign of Bhāgabhadra that Heliodora, the son of Diya (Dion), a native of Taxila, came as an Ambassador from Mahārāja Añitalikita (Antialkidas) to Rājan Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra the Saviour (Tratara), who was prospering in the fourteenth year of his reign. The ambassador, though a Greek, professed the Bhāgavata religion and set up a Garudadhvaja in honour of Vāsudeva, the god of gods. He was apparently well-versed in the Mahābhārata<sup>1</sup> which he might have heard recited in his native city of Taxila.

Nothing in particular is known regarding the three immediate successors of Bhadraka. The ninth king Bhāgavata had a long reign which extended over 32 years. Prof. Bhandarkar identifies him with the Mahārāja Bhāgavata mentioned in one of the Besnagar Inscriptions mentioned above. Bhāgavata's successor Devabhūti or Devabhūmi was a young and dissolute prince. The Purāṇas state that he was overthrown after a reign of 10 years by his Amātya Vasudeva. Bāṇa in his Harsha-charita says that the over-libidinous Śunga was bereft of his life by his Amātya Vasudeva with the help of a daughter of Devabhūti's slave woman (Dasi), disguised as his queen. Bāṇa's statement does not necessarily imply that Devabhūti was identical with the murdered Śunga. His statement may be construed to mean that Vasudeva entered into a

<sup>1</sup> The three immortal precepts (dama, śīla and spramāda), mentioned in the second part of Heliodora's inscription, occur in the Mahābhārata (XII.7.23 : Dāmis-tyāgo' pramādaścas te trayo Bhārataśca hṛṣibh). Cf. also Gīta, XVI. 1.2. See J. A. S. B. 1922, pp. 269-271.

conspiracy with the emissaries of Devabhūti to bring about the downfall of the reigning Śunga (*Bhāgavata*), and to raise Devabhūti to the throne. But in view of the unanimous testimony of the Pūrāṇas this interpretation of the statement of Bāna cannot be upheld.

The Śunga power was not altogether extinguished after the tragic end of Devabhūti. It probably survived in Central India<sup>1</sup> till the rise of the so-called Andhras, Andhrabhrityas or Sātavāhanas who "swept away the remains of the Śunga power" and probably appointed Śiśunandi<sup>2</sup> to govern the Vidisā region. Śiśunandi's younger brother had a grandson (dauhitṛ) named Śisuka who became the ruler of Purikā. Curiously enough Śisuka is also the Purāṇic name of the first king of the Andhra (bhritya) dynasty. It is not improbable that the two Śisukas were identical, and that after overthrowing the Śungas, Śisuka (Simuka of the Inscriptions) annexed Purikā but placed Vidisā under his maternal relations.

### *III. Importance of the Sunga period of Indian History.*

The rule of the Sunga emperors marks an important epoch in the history of India in general and of Central India in particular. The renewed incursions of the Yavanas which once threatened to submerge the whole of the Madhyadeśa received a check, and the Greek dynasts of the borderland reverted to the prudent policy of their Seleukidan precursors. There was an outburst of activity in the domains of religion, literature and art, comparable to that of the glorious epoch of the Guptas. In the history of these activities the names of three Central Indian localities stand pre-eminent: Vidisā,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 49.

(Besnagar), Gonarda and Bhārhut. As Foucher points out "it was the ivory-workers of Vidisā who carved, in the immediate vicinity of their town, one of the monumental gates of Sañchi." Inscriptions at Vidisā (and Ghasundi) testify to the growing importance and wide prevalence of the Bhāgavata religion. Though no Aśoka arose to champion this faith, the missionary propaganda of its votaries must have been effective even in the realms of Yavana princes, and a Yavana dūta was one of its most notable converts. Gonarda was the birth-place of the celebrated Patañjali, the greatest literary genius of the period. Bhārhut saw the construction of the famous railing which has made the sovereignty of the Sungas (Suganam raja) immortal.

## THE FALL OF THE MAGADHAN AND INDO-GREEK POWERS.

### 1 *The Kāṇvas, the Later Śungas and the Later Mitras.*

**Vasudeva** at whose instance the "over-libidinous Sunga" was "reft of his life" founded about 73 B.C. a new line of kings known as the Kāṇva or Kāṇvāyana dynasty. The Purāṇas give the following account of this family. "He (Vasudeva), the Kāṇvāyana, will be king 9 years. His son Bhūmimitra will reign 14 years. His son Nārāyaṇa will reign 12 years. His son Suśarman will reign 10 years. These are remembered as the Śunga-bhṛitya Kanvayana kings. These four Kāṇva Brāhmaṇas will enjoy the earth. They will be righteous. In succession to them the earth will pass to the Andhras." **Bhumimitra** seems to be identical with the king of that name known from coins.

The chronology of the Kāṇva dynasty is a matter of controversy. In his Early History of the Deccan, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar observes "the founder of the Andhra-bhṛityas is said to have uprooted not only the Kāṇvas, but 'whatever was left of the power of the Śungas.' And the Kāṇvas are pointedly spoken of as Śunga-bhṛityas or servants of the Śungas. It, therefore, appears likely that when the prince of the Śunga family became weak, the Kāṇvas usurped the whole power and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns. Thus then these dynasties reigned contemporaneously, and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the Śungas include the 45 assigned to the Kāṇvas."

Now, the Purānic evidence only proves that certain princes belonging to the Śunga stock continued to rule till the Andhra (bhṛitya) conquest and were the contemporaries of the Kāṇvas. But there is nothing to show that these *roys faiseants* of the Śunga stock were identical with any of the ten Śunga kings mentioned by name in the Purānic lists, who reigned 112 years. On the contrary, the distinct testimony of the Purāṇas that Devabhūti, the tenth and last Śunga of the Purānic lists, was the person slain by Vasudeva the first Kāṇva, probably shows that the *roys faiseants*, who ruled contemporaneously with Vasudeva and his successors, were later than Devabhūti, and were not considered to be important enough to be mentioned by name. Consequently the 112 years that tradition assigns to the ten Śunga kings from Pushyamitra to Devabhūti do not include the 45 assigned to the Kāṇvas. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to accept Dr. Smith's date B.C. 73-28 for the Kāṇva dynasty.

It is not known in what relationship the Kāṇvas and the Later Śungas stood to the "Mitra" kings who were supplanted by the Satraps of Mathurā.<sup>1</sup> Among these Later Mitras, Vishnugupta and Gomitra deserve mention.

### *II. The Sātavāhanas and the Chetas.*

While the Śungas and Kāṇvas were engaged in their petty feuds, new powers were rising in trans-Vindhyan India. These were the Sātavāhana, Andhra or Andhra-bhṛitya kingdom of Dakshināpatha and the Cheta kingdom of Kalinga.

The founder of the Satavahana or the so-called Andhra (bhṛitya) dynasty was Simuka whose name is misspelt as Śiśuka, Sindhuka and Śipraka in the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas state that the Andhra Simuka will assail the

<sup>1</sup> EHL, 227; IHQ II.3.44.

Kāṇvāyanas and Suśarman, and destroy the remains of the Sungas' power and will obtain this earth. If this statement be true then it cannot be denied that Simuka flourished in the first century B.C. Dr. Smith and many other scholars, however, reject the *unanimous* testimony of the Purāṇas. They attach more importance to a statement about which there is not the same unanimity, that the Andhras ruled for four centuries and a half. Accordingly they place Simuka in the third century B.C. and say that the dynasty came to an end in the third century A.D.

A discussion of Simuka's date involves the consideration of the following questions :—

1. What is the age of the script of the Nānāghāṭ record of Nayanikā, daughter-in-law of Simuka?
2. What is the actual date of Kharavela's Hathigumpha Inscription which refers to a Śatakarnī who was apparently a successor of Simuka?
3. What is the exact number of Andhra (bhṛitya) kings and what is the duration of their rule?

As to the first point we should note that according to Professor Chanda the inscription of Nayanikā is later than the Besnagar Inscription of Bhagavata the penultimate king of the Early Sunga dynasty.<sup>1</sup> Consequently Simuka may be placed in the Kāṇva period, i.e., in the first century B.C.—a date which accords with Purāṇic evidence.<sup>2</sup>

As to the second point Mr. R. D. Banerji gives good grounds for believing that the expression Ti-vasa-sata occurring in the passage "Pamchame cha dāni vase Namdaraja ti-vasa-sata....." of the Hathigumpha

<sup>1</sup> MASL No. 1, pp. 14-15.

<sup>2</sup> Böhler also observes (ASWL Vol. V, 85) that the characters of the Nānāghāṭ inscription belong to a period anterior by about 100 years to that of the edict of Gautami putra Śatakarnī and his son Puṇamīti.

Inscription means not 103 but 300.<sup>1</sup> This is also the view of Mr. Jayaswal and Professor Chanda.<sup>2</sup> If Ti-vasa-sata means 300 Khāravela and his contemporary Sātakarṇi must have flourished 300 years after Nandarāja, i.e., in or about 23 B. C. This agrees with the Purānic evidence which makes Śatākarṇi's father a contemporary of the last Kāṇva king Suśarman (38-28 B. C.).

We now come to the third point, viz., the determination of the exact number of Satavahana kings, and the duration of their rule.

Regarding each of these matters we have got two different traditions. As to the first the Matsya Purāna says :—

"Ekona-viṁśatir-hyeta Andhrā bhokshyanti vai mahim," but it gives thirty names.

The Vāyu Purāna with the exception of the 'M' manuscript says—

"Ityete vai nripas trīṁśad Andhrā bhokshyanti ye mahim," but most of the Vāyu manuscripts name only seventeen, eighteen, or nineteen kings.

As to the duration of the Andhra rule several Matsya manuscripts say—

"Teshāṁ varsha śatāni syuś chatvāri shashṭhir eva cha."

Another Matsya manuscript puts it slightly differently :—

"Dvādaśadhikam eteshāṁ rājyam śata-chatushṭayam."

While a Vāyu passage gives altogether a different tradition :

"Andhrā bhokshyanti vasudhām  
śate dve cha śatāṁ cha vai."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> JBOBS, 1917, 495-497.

<sup>2</sup> In his fifth year Khāravela extended an aqueduct that had not been used for n-vasi-sena since Nandarāja. If "ti-vasi-sena" is taken to mean 108, Khāravela's accession must be placed 103-5-98 years after Nandarāja. His elevation to the position of Yavāraja took place 9 years before that date, i.e., 98-9-89 years after Nandarāja (i.e., not later than 823 B. C.-89=284 B. C.). Khāravela's father must have been on the throne at that time, and he was preceded by his father. But wa

Obviously according to one tradition there were about nineteen kings who probably ruled for 300 years as the *Vāyu* says, while according to another tradition there were thirty kings the lengths of whose reigns covered a period of more than 400 years. In the opinion of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar the longer list includes the names of princes belonging to all the branches of the Andhrabhritya dynasty, and that the longer period represents the total duration of the reigns of all the princes belonging to the several branches. The period of 300 years, and the seventeen, eighteen or nineteen names given in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, and hinted at in the *Matsya*, refer to the main branch. That there was at least one line of Sātakarnis distinct from the main branch is admitted by all. Inscriptions in Aparānta, in Kanara and in the north of Mysore testify to the existence of a family of Sātakarnis who ruled over Kuntala (the Kanarese districts) before the Kadambas.<sup>1</sup> The *Matsya* list includes at least two kings of this line named Skandasvati and Kuntala Sātakarni, who are passed over in silence by the *Vāyu*. *Skanda-nāga-Sātaka* actually appears as the name of a prince of the Kanarese line of Sātakarnis in a Kanheri inscription.<sup>2</sup> As to Kuntala Sātakarni, the commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* takes the word "Kuntala" in the name Kuntala Sātakarni Śatavāhana to mean "Kuntala-vishaye jātatvāt tat-samākhyab." It is, therefore, fair to conclude that the *Matsya Purāṇa* which mentions 30 Śatavāhana kings includes not only the main branch but also the Kuntala line.

learns from Ashoka's inscriptions that Kalliga was actually governed at that time by a Maurya King under the suzerainty of Ashoka himself. Therefore ti-vasa-saṇa should be taken to mean 300 and not 108.

<sup>1</sup> A Śatavāhan of Kuntala is referred to by the Kāvya Mīmāṃsa (p. 50) as having ordered the exclusive use of Prakrit in his harem. He may have been identical with the famous king Hāla (cf. Kuntala-jñanavayavīṣṇava Hāla, p. xxiii).

<sup>2</sup> Rapson, Anilka Coins, III,

On the other hand, the *Vāyu Purāṇa* omits some of the Śātakarnīs of Kuntala and mentions only about 19 kings most of whom belonged to the main line whose rule lasted for 300 years. If the main line of Śātavāhana kings consisted only of about nineteen princes, and if the duration of their rule be three centuries, there is no difficulty in accepting the Purānic statement that Simuka flourished in the first century B.C., and that his dynasty ceased to rule in Northern Deccan in the third century A.D. The Kuntala line lasted longer and did not come to an end before the fourth or fifth century A.D., when it was supplanted by the Kadambas. Thus the total duration of the rule of both the branches of Śātakarnīs is really more than 400 years. The kings of the Kuntala line are no doubt placed before the great Gautamiputra and his successors. But we have other instances of the inversion of the order of kings in the Purāṇas.<sup>1</sup>

Regarding the original home of the Śātavāhana family there is also a good deal of controversy. Some scholars think that the Śātavāhanas were not Andhras (Telugus) but merely Andhra-bhrityas of Kanarese origin. In the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIV (1917) Dr. Sukthankar edited an Inscription of Siri-Pulumāvi "king of the Śātavāhanas" which mentions a place called Śatavāhani-hāra. The place occurs also in the Hira-Hadagalli copper-plate inscription of the Pallava king Śiva-skandavarman in the slightly altered form of Śatābani-ratṭha. Dr. Sukthankar suggests that the territorial division Śātavāhani-Sātahani must have comprised a good portion of the modern Bellary district, and that it was the original home of the Śātavāhana family. Other indications point to the territory immediately south of the

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 88, 72 *ante*. For the late date of Hira see Bhāsk. Com., Vol. 189.

Madhyadeśa as the original home of the Śātavahana-Sātakarīs. The Vinaya Texts<sup>1</sup> mention a town called "Selakanika" which lay on the southern frontier of the Majjhima-desa. It is significant that the earliest records of the Sātakarīs are found in the Northern Deccan and Central India. The name Andhra probably came to be applied to the kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions and became a purely Andhra power governing the territory at the mouth of the river Krishnā.<sup>2</sup>

There is reason to believe that the "Andhra," Andhrabhritya or Śātavāhana kings were Brāhmaṇas with a little admixture of Nāga blood. The Dvātriḥśat-puttalikā represents Śātavāhana (Śātavāhana) as of mixed Brāhmaṇa and Nāga origin. The Nāga connection is suggested by names like Skanda-nāga-Śātaka, while the claim to the rank of Brāhmaṇa is actually put forward in an inscription. In the Nāsik praśasti of Gautamiputra Sātakarī the king is called "Eka Bambhana," i.e., the unique Brāhmaṇa. Some scholars, however, are inclined to take Bambhana to mean merely a Brāhmaṇical Hindu, but this interpretation cannot be accepted in view of the fact that Gautamiputra is also called "Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana," i.e., the destroyer of the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas. The expression "Eka-bambhana" when read along with the passage "Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana" leaves no room for doubt that Gautamiputra of the Śātavāhana family claimed to be a Brāhmaṇa like Paraśurāma. As a matter of fact in the praśasti the king is described as "the unique Brāhmaṇa in prowess equal to Rāma."

<sup>1</sup> S.B.B. XVII, 88.

<sup>2</sup> For the origin and meaning of the names Śātavāhana and Sātakarī see also Camb. Hist. Ind., Vol. I, p. 299a; and J.B.O.B.S. 1917, December, p. 442a. Both Barwell and Jayaswal connect them with the Sākivapūras.

According to the Purāṇas Simuka gave the final *coup de grace* to the Śunga-Kaṇva power. He was succeeded by his brother Krishna. This king has been identified with Kaṇha "Rājā of the Sādavāhana-kula" mentioned in a Nāsik inscription. The inscription tells us that a certain cave was caused to be made by an inhabitant of Nāsik in the time of King Kaṇha.

Kaṇha-Krishna was succeeded according to the Purāṇas by Śatakarni. This Śatakari has been identified with

- (1) King Śatakari Dakshināpatha-pati, son of Simuka Sādavāhana mentioned in the Nānāghāṭ Inscription of Nāyanika.
- (2) Śatakari lord of the west who was defeated by Khāravela, king of Kalinga.
- (3) Rajan Śri Śatakari of a Sāñchi Inscription.
- (4) The older Saraganus mentioned in the Periplus and
- (5) Śatakari lord of Pratishthāna, father of Saktikumāra mentioned in Indian literature.

The first and fifth identifications are accepted by all scholars. The second identification is also probable because the Purāṇas place Śatakari, the successor of Krishna, after the Kaṇvas, i.e., in the first century B.C., while the Hāthigumpha Inscription places Khāravela 300 years after Nanda-rajā, i.e., in the first century B.C.

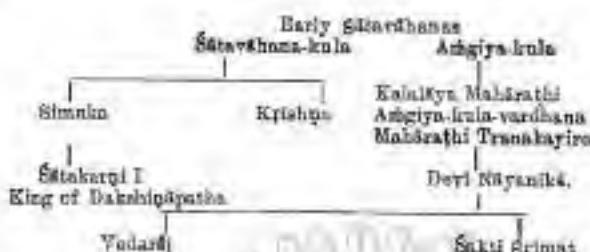
Marshall objects to the third identification on the ground that Śri Śatakari who is mentioned in the Nānāghāṭ and Hāthigumpha Inscriptions reigned in the middle of the second century B.C.; his dominions, therefore, could not have included Eastern Mālwa (the Sāñchi region) which in the second century B.C., was ruled by the Śungas and not by the Andhras.<sup>1</sup> But we have seen

<sup>1</sup> A Guide to Sāñchi, p. 13.

that the date of the Hāthigumpha Inscription is the first century B.C. (300 years after Nanda-rājā). Moreover, the Purāṇas place the kings mentioned in the Nānāghāṭ Inscription not earlier than the Kāṇvas, i.e., the first century B.C. The identification of the successor of Krishṇa of the Satavāhana family with Satakṛpi of the Sañchi Inscription, therefore, does not conflict with what is known of the history of Eastern Mālwa in the second century B.C. Lastly, it would be natural for the first Satakṛpi to be styled simply Satakṛpi or the elder Satakṛpi (Saraganus, from a Prākṛit form like Sādaganna) while it would be equally natural for the later Satakṛpis to be distinguished from him by the addition of a geographical designation like Kuntala, or a metronymic like Gautamiputra or Vāsishthiputra.

We learn from the Nānāghāṭ Inscriptions that Satakarpi, son of Simuka, entered into a matrimonial alliance with the powerful Aṅgiya family, the scions of which were called Mahārathi, and became sovereign of the whole of Dakshināpatha. He also conquered Eastern Mālwa and performed the Āśvamedha sacrifice. The conquest of Eastern Mālwa is proved by the Sañchi Inscription which records the gift of a certain Ānamda, the son of Vasithi, the foreman of the artisans of Rājan Siri-Satakṛpi. Satakṛpi seems to have been the first prince to raise the Satavāhanas to the position of paramount sovereigns of Trans-Vindhyan India. Thus arose the first great empire in the Godāvari valley which rivalled in extent and power the Suaga empire in the Ganges valley and the Greek empire in the Land of the Five Rivers. According to the evidence of Indian as well as classical literature, the capital of the Satavāhana Empire was at Pratishthāna, "the modern Paithan on the north bank of the Godāvari in the Aurangabad District of Hyderabad."

After the death of Śātakarnī his wife Nāyanikā or Nāganikā, daughter of the Mahārāthi Tranakayiro Kallaya, the scion of the Āṅgiya family, was proclaimed regent during the minority of the princes Vedaśri and Sakti-Śrī (Sati-Srimat) or Haku-Śrī. The last mentioned prince is probably identical with Sakti-kumāra, son of Sālivāhana, mentioned in Jaina literature.



The Sātavāhanas were not the only enemies of Magadha in the first century B.C. We learn from the Hāthigumpha Inscription that when Śātakarnī was ruling in the west, Kharavela of Kalinga carried his arms to Northern India and humbled the king of Rājagṛīha.

Kharavela belonged to the Cheta dynasty. Prof. Chanda points out that Cheta princes are mentioned in the Vessantara Jātaka (No. 547). The Milinda-pañho contains a statement which seems to indicate that the Chetas were connected with the Chetis or Chedis. The particulars given in that work regarding the Cheta king Sura Parichara agree with what we know about the Chedi king Uparichara.<sup>1</sup>

Very little is known regarding the history of Kalinga from the death of Aśoka to the rise of the Cheta dynasty in the first century B.C. (three hundred years after the Nandas). The names of the first two kings of the Cheta line are not given in the Hathigumpha inscription. Lüders Ins. No. 1347 mentions a king named Vakradeva,

<sup>1</sup> Rhys Davids, Milinda, p. 267; Mhb. L, 63, 14.

But we do not know whether he was a predecessor or successor of Khāravela. During the rule of the second king, who must have reigned for at least 9 years, Khāravela occupied the position of Yuvarāja. When he had completed his 24th year, he was anointed Mahārāja of Kalinga.<sup>1</sup> In the first year of his reign he repaired the gates and ramparts of his capital, Kalinga-nagara. In the next year, without taking heed of Sātakarpi, he sent a large army to the west and took the city of Masika (?) with the help of the Kusambas. He followed up his success by further operations in the west and, in his fourth year, compelled the Rāthikas and Bhojakas to do him homage. In the fifth year he had an aqueduct that had not been used for 300 years since Nandarāja conducted into his capital.

Emboldened by his successes in the Deccan the Kalinga king turned his attention to the North.<sup>2</sup> In the eighth year he harassed the king of Rājagṛīha so that he fled to Mathurā. If Mr. Jayaswal is right in identifying this king with Brīhaspatimitra, then king Brīhaspati must have ruled over Magadha after the Kaṇva dynasty. Udaya of the Pabhosa Inscription who came later than Brīhaspatimitra cannot, in that case, be identified with the fifth Sunga king who must be identified with Bhāgabhadra.

The attack on Northern India was repeated in the tenth and twelfth years. In the tenth year the Kalinga king organised a grand expedition against Bhāratavarsha, perhaps identical with the valley of the Jumna, the scene of the exploits of Bharata Dauhsanti and his descendants, where the king of Rājagṛīha had fled for shelter. He

<sup>1</sup> Khāravela's chief queen was the daughter of a prince named Lalika, the great grandson of Bṛahishāḥa,

<sup>2</sup> Some scholars find in lines 8 of the Hāthigumpha Ins. a reference to a Yavanas-rija.

could not achieve any great success in that region. He simply claims to have harassed the kings of Uttarāpatha and watered his elephants in the Gāngā. But in Magadha he was more successful; the repeated blows certainly "struck terror into the Magadhas," and compelled the Magadha king (Bṛihaspatimitra?) to bow at his feet. Having subjugated Magadha, the invader once more turned his attention to southern India. Already in his eleventh year "he had Pithuda ploughed with a plough drawn by an ass." Lévi<sup>1</sup> identifies this city with Pihunda of the *Uttarādhyayana* (21), and Pitundra metropolis of Ptolemy in the interior of the country of Masulipatam (Maisoloi). The conqueror seems to have pushed further to the south and made his power felt even by the King of the Pandya country. In the thirteenth year Khāravela erected pillars on the Kumāri Hill in the vicinity of the dwelling of the Arhats.

### *III. The End of Greek Rule in North-West India.*

While the Magadhan monarchy was falling before the onslaughts of the Sātavāhanas and the Chetas, the Greek power in the North-West was also hastening towards dissolution. We have already referred to the feuds of Demetrios and Eukratides. The dissensions of these two princes led to a double succession, one derived from Demetrios holding Śākala (Śiñkot) with a considerable portion of the Indian interior, the other derived from Eukratides holding Takshashīla, Pushkaravati, Kāpiśa and Bactria. According to Gardner and Rapson, Apollodotos, Antimachos, Pantaleon, Agathokles, Agathokleia, the Stratos, Menander, Dionysios, Zoilos, Hippostratos and Apollphanes belonged to the house of Euthydemos and Demetrios. Most of these sovereigns used the same coin-types, specially the figure of the goddess Athene hurling

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant. 1928, 145.

the thunderbolt, which is characteristic of the Euthydemian line. Pantaleon and Agathokles strike coins with almost identical types.<sup>1</sup> They both adopt the metal nickel for their coins, and they alone use in their legends the Brahmi alphabet. They seem, therefore, to have been closely connected probably as brothers. It is not improbable that Agathokleia was their sister. Agathokles issued a series of coins in commemoration of Alexander, Antiochos Nikator (Antiochos III Megas according to Malala), Diodotos, and Euthydemos.

Apollodotos, the Stratos, Menandar and some later kings use the Athene type of coins. Apollodotos and Menander are mentioned together in literature. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* says that "to the present day ancient drachmas are current in Barygaza bearing inscriptions in Greek letters, and the devices of those who reigned after Alexander, Apollodotos and Menander." Again, in the title of the lost forty-first book of Justin's work, Menander and Apollodotos are mentioned as Indian kings.<sup>2</sup> It appears from the Milindapañho that the capital of the dynasty to which Menander belonged was Śakala or Sagala.<sup>3</sup> We learn from Ptolemy the geographer that the city had another name Euthymedia (Euthydemia ?) a designation which was probably derived from the Euthydemian line.

To the family of Eukratides belonged Heliokles and probably Lysias and Antialkidas who ruled conjointly. A common type of Antialkidas is the Pilei of the Dioscuri, which seems to connect him with Eukratides; his portrait according to Gardner resembles that of Heliokles. It is

<sup>1</sup> Dancing girl in oriental costume according to Whitehead; Mys, mother of the Buddha, in the maternity scene according to Fouquer (*JRAIS*, 1919, p. 99).

<sup>2</sup> Rhys Davids, *Milinda*, p. xix.

<sup>3</sup> "Atthi Youskēoñ nkuñpotābhedañam Sāgalaññma nagaram." "Jambodipa Sāgala nagare Milindo nāma Rājā uñci," "Atthi tho Nāgasena Sāgalañ nāma nagarañ, tañtha Milindo nāma Rājā rajjam kāreti."

not improbable that he was an immediate successor of Heliokles.<sup>1</sup> A Besnagar Inscription makes him a contemporary of Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra of Vidishā who probably ruled in the third quarter of the second century B. C. (sometime after Agnimitra). The capital of Antialkidas was probably at Takshaśilā or Taxila, the place whence his ambassador Heliodorus went to the kingdom of Bhāgabhadra. But his dominions seem also to have included Kāpiśī.<sup>2</sup> After his death the western Greek kingdom probably split up into three parts, viz., Takshaśilā (ruled by Archebios), Pushkalāvati (governed by Diomedes, Epander, Philoxenos, Artemidoros, and Peukelaos), and Kāpiśī held successively by Amyntas and Hermaeus (Hermios).

The Greek power must have been greatly weakened by the feuds of the rival lines of Demetrios and Eukratides. The evils of internal dissension were aggravated by foreign inroads. We learn from Strabo<sup>3</sup> that the Parthians deprived Eukratides by force of arms of a part of Bactriana, which embraced the satrapies of Aspionus and Turiva. There is reason to believe that the Parthian king Mithradates I penetrated even into India. Orosius, a Roman historian who flourished about 400 A.D., makes a definite statement to the effect that Mithridates or Mithradates subdued the natives between the Hydaspes<sup>4</sup> and the Indus. His conquest thus drove a wedge between the kingdom of Eukratides and that of his rival of the house of Euthydemos.

The causes of the final downfall of the Bactrian Greeks are thus stated by Justin: "the Bactrians

<sup>1</sup> Gardner, Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, p. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Camb. Hist., 568.

<sup>3</sup> H. & F.'s Ed., vol. II, pp. 251-252.

<sup>4</sup> In the Cambridge History, p. 568, however, this river has been identified with a Persian stream, the Medes Hydaspes of Virgil.

harassed by various wars lost not only their dominions but their liberty ; for having suffered from contentions with the Sogdians, the Drangians and the Indians they were at last overcome as if exhausted by the weaker Parthians.<sup>1</sup>

The **Sogdians** were the people of the region now known as Samarkand and Bakhārā. They were separated from Bactriana by the Oxus. By the term Sogdian Justin probably refers not only to the Sogdians proper but also to the well-known tribes which, according to Strabo,<sup>2</sup> deprived the Greeks of Bactriana, *viz.*, the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari, Sacrauli and the Sacae or Śakas. The story of the Śaka occupation of the Indo-Greek possessions will be told in the next chapter. The Latin historian Pompeius Trogus describes how Diodotos had to fight Scythian tribes, the Sarancae and Asiani, who finally conquered Sogdiana and Bactria. The occupation of Sogdiana probably entitled them to the designation Sogdian used by Justin. Sten Konow<sup>3</sup> suggests the identification of the Tochari of the Classical writers with the Ta-hia of the Chinese historians. He further identifies the Asii, Asioi or Asiani with the Yue-chi. We are inclined to identify the Tochari with the Tukhāras who formed an important element of the Bactrian population in the time of Ptolemy and are described by that author as a great people.<sup>4</sup> They are apparently "the warlike nation of the Bactrians" of the time of the Periplus.

The **Drangians** referred to by Justin inhabited the country between Areia, Gedrosia and Arachosia, including the province now called Sistān (Sakasthāna). Numismatic evidence indicates that a Drangian family, *viz.*, the **Dynasty of Vonones** supplanted Greek rule in a considerable part of Afghanistan specially in Arachosia,

<sup>1</sup> E. and F's Ed., vol. II, pp. 245-246.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., 1884, pp. 295-296.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Review, 1921, April, p. 494.

Vonones is a Parthian (Imperial) name. Hence some scholars call his dynasty a Parthian family. But names are not sure proofs of nationality. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar calls the dynasty Saka.<sup>1</sup> The best name for the family would be Drangian, because their home territory was Drangiana. On coins Vonones is associated with two princes, *viz.*,

- (i) Spalahora who is called Mahārāja-bhrāta,
- (ii) Spalaga-dama, son of Spalahora.

There is one coin which Thomas and Cunningham attributed to Vonones and Azes I. But the coin really belongs to Maues.<sup>2</sup> There is a silver coin of a prince named Spalirises which bears on the obverse the legend Basileus Adelphoy Spalirisoy, and on the reverse "Mahārāja Bhraha Dhramiasa Spalarishisa," *i. e.*, Spalirises the Just, brother of the king. This king has been identified with Vonones. Vonones thus was a supreme ruler, and he appointed his brothers Spalirises and Spalahora viceroys to govern the provinces conquered by him, and after the death of the latter, conferred the viceroyalty on his nephew Spalaga-dama. Vonones was succeeded as supreme ruler by his brother Spalirises. The coins of Spalirises present two varieties, *viz.*,

1. Coins which bear his name alone in both the legends;
2. Coins on which his name occurs on the obverse in the Greek legend, and those of Azes on the reverse in the Kharoshthi legend. The second variety proves that Spalirises had a colleague named Azes who governed a territory where the prevailing script was Kharoshthi. This Azes has been identified with king Azes of the Pañjab about whom we shall speak in the next chapter.

<sup>1</sup> *Editor of Charax* (Z. D. M. G., 1906, pp. 57-58; JRAS., 1915, p. 82) refers to Sigil in Sacastene as the residence of a Saka king.

<sup>2</sup> Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Pañjab Museum, p. 98.

As regards the Indian enemies of the Bactrian Greeks we must refer in the first place to the Śūṅgas who are represented in Kalidasa's *Mālavikāgnimitram* as defeating the Yavanas on the Sindhu. An Indian named Bhadrayaśas seems to have had some share in the destruction of the Greek Kingdom of the Eastern Pañjāb. The Nāsik prāśasti of Gautamiputra Śatakarṇi represents that king as the destroyer of the Yavanas, apparently of Western India.

The final destruction of Greek rule was, as Justin says, the work of the Parthians. Marshall tells us<sup>1</sup> that the last surviving Greek principality, that of Hermaios in the Kabul valley, was overthrown by the Parthian king Gondophaernes. The Chinese historian Fan-ye also refers to the Parthian occupation of Kabul.<sup>2</sup> "Whenever any of the three kingdoms of Tien Tchou, Ki-pin or Ngansi became powerful, it brought Kabul into subjection. When it grew weak it lost Kabul.....Later, Kabul fell under the rule of Parthia."

<sup>1</sup> A Guide to Taxila, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. I, p. 81.

SCYTHIAN RULE IN NORTHERN INDIA.

I. *The Sakas.*

In the second and first centuries B. C., Greek rule in parts of Kāfristān and Gandhāra was supplanted by that of the Sakas. The history of the First Han Dynasty states "formerly when the Hiung-nu conquered the Ta-Yue-tchi the latter emigrated to the west, and subjugated the Ta-hia; whereupon the Sai-wang went to the south, and ruled over Kipin."<sup>1</sup> Sten Konow points out that the Sai-wang are the same people which are known in Indian tradition under the designation Saka-muranda, Murunda being a later form of a Saka word which has the same meaning as Chinese "wang," i.e., master, lord. In Indian inscriptions and coins it has frequently been translated with the Indian word Svāmin.

The name of the Saka king who occupied Kipin is not known. The earliest ruler of that region mentioned in Chinese records is Wu-t'ou-lao whose son was ousted by Yin-mo-fu, the son of the prince of Jung-k'u, who established himself as king of Kipin during the reign of the Emperor He-han-ti, which lasted from 73 to 48 B. C., and killed the envoys sent in the reign of the Emperor Yuanti (B. C. 48-32). In the reign of Cheng-ti (32-7 B. C.) the support of China was sought without success by the king of Kipin, probably the successor of Yin-mo-fu, who was in danger from some powerful adversary, apparently a king of the Yue-chi, who had relations with China about this time as is proved by the communication of certain Buddhist books to a Chinese official in 2 B. C.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> JRAS., 1903, p. 22; Modern Review, April, 1921, p. 464.

<sup>2</sup> Cole, Rev., Feb., 1924, pp. 251, 252; Smith, E.H.I. p. 228a.; JRAS., 1913, 647.

S. Lévi identifies Kipin with Kašmir. But his view has been ably controverted by Sten Konow<sup>1</sup> who accepts Chavannes' identification with Kāpiśa.<sup>2</sup> Gandhāra was the eastern part of Kipin. A passage of Hemachandra's *Abhidhāna-Chintāmani* seems to suggest that the capital of the Sai-wang (Śaka-Murāṇḍah) was Lampaka or Laghman (Lampakāstu Murāṇḍah Syah). Sten Konow says that the Sai, i.e., the Śakas, passed Hientu, i.e., the gorge west of Skardu on their way to Kipin.<sup>3</sup> Though the Śakas wrested Kipin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra) from the hands of the Greeks they could not permanently subjugate Kabul,<sup>4</sup> where the Greeks maintained a precarious existence. They were more successful in India. Inscriptions at Mathurā and Nāsik prove that the Śakas extended their sway as far as the Jumna in the east and the Godāvari in the south, and destroyed the power of the Mitras of Mathurā and the Śatavāhanas of Paithan.

No connected or detailed account of the Śaka kings of Kipin is possible. Śakas are mentioned along with the Yavanas in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,<sup>5</sup> the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>6</sup> the *Māndasamhitā*<sup>7</sup> and the *Mahābhāshya*.<sup>8</sup> The *Harivamśa*<sup>9</sup> informs us that they shaved one half of their heads, and the Jaina work *Kālakāchārya-kathānaka* states that their kings were called Sūbi.<sup>10</sup>

The Śakas are also mentioned in the Praśastis of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī and Samudra Gupta. Their

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> The country divided by the northern tributaries of the river Kabul, ibid. p. 290; cf. Waiters, Yuan Chhweng, Vol. I, 250-260.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Ind. XIV, 291.

<sup>4</sup> Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. I, p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> I, 54, 22; IV, 43, 12.

<sup>6</sup> II, 33, 17.

<sup>7</sup> X, 44.

<sup>8</sup> Ind. Ant. 1875, 244.

<sup>9</sup> Chap. 14, 16.

<sup>10</sup> Z. D. M. G., 34, p. 232.

kingdom or empire "Sakasthāna" is probably mentioned in the Mahāmayūri (95) and in the Mathura Lion Capital Inscription. The passage in the inscription containing the word Sakasthāna runs thus:—

Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae.

Cunningham interpreted the passage as meaning "for the merit of the people of Śakastān." Dr. Fleet, however, maintained that "there are no real grounds for thinking that the Śakas ever figured as invaders of any part of northern India above Kāthīwād and the western and southern parts of the territory now known as Mālwā."<sup>1</sup> He took Sarva to be a proper name and translated the inscriptive passage referred to above as "a gift of Sarva in honour of his home."<sup>2</sup>

Fleet's objection is ineffective. Chinese evidence clearly establishes the presence of Sakas in Kipin, i.e., Kāpiśa-Gandhāra. As regards the presence of the tribe at Mathurā, the site of the inscription, we should note that the *Markandeya Purāṇa*<sup>3</sup> refers to a Saka settlement in the Madhyadeśa. Dr. Thomas<sup>4</sup> points out that the epigraphs on the Lion Capital exhibit a mixture of Saka and Persian nomenclature. The name Mevaki, for instance, which occurs in the inscriptions is a variant of the Scythian name Manakes.<sup>5</sup> The termination "-ūs" in Komūsa and Samūso seems to be Scythic. Dr. Thomas further points out that there is no difficulty in the expression of honour to the "whole realm of the Sakas" since we find in the Wardak, Sue Vihār and other ins-

<sup>1</sup> JASB, 1906, 105; Mr. N. G. Majumdar (JASB, 1926, 17) takes Sakasthāna to mean "Śakrasthāna, i.e., 'the place of Indra.'

<sup>2</sup> Chapter 58.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Ind. IX, pp. 188ff.

<sup>4</sup> cf. Manes, Moga, and Mayaces the commander of the Sakas who went to the aid of Darius Codomannus, (Chinock, Arrian, p. 142).

criptions even more comprehensive expressions, e.g., Sarva sañvanam—of all living creatures. As regards Fleet's renderings "svaka" and "sakatthana" one's own place, Dr. Thomas says that it does not seem natural to inscribe on the stone honour to somebody's own home. A pūjā addressed to a country is unusual, but inscription G of the Lion Capital contains a similar pūjā addressed to the chief representatives of the Saka dominion.

Sakasthāna, doubtless, included the district of Seythia mentioned in the Periplus, "from which flows down the river Sinthus, the greatest of all the rivers that flow into the Erythraean Sea." The metropolis of "Seythia" in the time of the Periplus was Minnagara; and its market-town was Barbaricum on the seashore.

Princes bearing Saka names are mentioned in several inscriptions discovered in Taxila, Mathurā and western India. According to Dr. Thomas "whatever Saka dynasties may have existed in the Panjab or India, reached India neither through Afghanistan nor through Kaśmir but, as Cunningham contended, by way of Sind and the valley of the Indus."<sup>1</sup> This theory cannot be accepted in its entirety in view of the Chinese account of the Saka occupation of Kipin and the epigraphic evidence regarding the existence of a Seythian Satrapy at Kāpiśī.<sup>2</sup> We cannot also overlook the fact that some of the Saka names hitherto discovered are those of the Northern Śakas who lived near the Sogdianoī,<sup>3</sup> e.g., the names Maues, Moga (Taxila plate) and Mevaki (Mathurā Lion Capital) are variants of the Saka name Mauakes. We learn from Arrian that a chief named Mauakes or Mavaces led the "Sacians, a Seythian tribe belonging to the Seythians who dwelt in Asia," who lived outside the jurisdiction of the

<sup>1</sup> JRAS, 1906, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> JASB, 1924, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., 1884, pp. 398-400.

Persian governor of the Bactrians and the Sogdianians, but were in alliance with the Persian king. Kshaharāta or Khakharāta, the family designation of a Satrapal house of Western and Southern India, is perhaps equivalent to Karatai the name of a Saka tribe of the North.<sup>1</sup>

The conquest of the Lower Indus valley, Cutch and part of Western India may, however, have been effected by the Sakas of western Sakasthāna (Sistān) who are mentioned by Isidore of Charax. The name of the capitals of "Scythia" (*i.e.*, the Lower Indus valley) and of the Kingdom of Mambarns (Nambanus?) in the time of the Periplus was Minagara, and this was evidently derived from the city of Min in Sakasthāna mentioned by Isidore.<sup>2</sup> Rapson points out that one of the most characteristic features in the names of the western Kshatrapas of Chashtana's line, *viz.*, "Dāman" (-dama) is found also in the name of a prince of the Drangianian house of Vonones. Lastly, the Kārddamaka family from which the daughter of the Mahākshatrapa Rudra claimed descent, apparently derived its name from the Kārddama river in Persia.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest Saka king mentioned in Indian inscriptions and coins is, perhaps, Maues (usually identified with Moga of the Taxila plate). He was a paramount sovereign (Maharaya). His dominions included Taxila which was ruled by a Satrapal family.

The dates assigned to Maues by various scholars range from B.C. 135 to A.D. 154. His coins are found ordinarily in the Pañjab, and chiefly in the western portion of the province of which Taxila was the ancient capital. There can thus be no doubt that Maues was the king of Gandhāra. Now it is impossible to find for Maues a

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 400.

<sup>2</sup> JAS, 1915, p. 890.

<sup>3</sup> Shastri's trans. of Arthashastra, p. 86-6.

place in the history of the Panjab before the Greek king Antialkidas who was reigning at Taxila when king Bhāgabhadra was on the throne of Vidisā for fourteen years. The date of Bhāgabhadra is uncertain but he must be placed later than Agnimitra Śunga who ruled from B.C. 149-141. The fourteenth year of Bhāgabhadra, therefore, could not have fallen before 127 B.C. Consequently Antialkidas must have been ruling in the second half of the second century B.C., and his reign could not have ended before 127 B.C. The Saka occupation of Gandhāra must, therefore, be later than 127 B.C. All scholars except Fleet identify Maues with Maharaya Moga of the Sirsukh or Taxila plate dated in the year 78 of an unspecified era. The generally accepted view is that the era is of Saka institution. As the era is used only in N. Indis and the border land it is permissible to conjecture that it came into existence after the Saka occupation of those regions. We have already seen that this occupation could not have taken place before 127 B.C. The era used in the Taxila plate could not, therefore, have originated before 127 B.C. The year 78 of the era could not have fallen before B.C. (127 - 78 =) 49. Consequently Maues-Moga cannot be placed before B.C. 49. He must be placed even later, because we learn from the Chinese records that Yin-mo-fu was in possession of Kipin or Kapisa-Gandhāra about 48-33 B.C. Maues, therefore, will have to be placed after 33 B.C. He cannot perhaps be placed later than the middle of the first century A.D., because we learn from Apollonius and the author of the Periplus that about that time or a little later both Taxila and Minnagara, the metropolis of Scythia or the Saka kingdom in the Indus valley, had passed into the hands of the Parthians. It seems, therefore, that Maues ruled after 33 B.C., but before the closing years of the first century A.D. It is not altogether improbable that he

flourished in the year 22 A. D.—the year 78 of the era commencing 58 B. C., which afterwards came to be known as the Krita-Mālava-Vikrama era. But the matter must be regarded as not finally settled.

Numismatists say that Maues was succeeded on the throne of the Western Pañjab by Azes who put an end to Greek rule in the Eastern Pañjab by annexing the kingdom of Hippostratos. The coins of Azes are very closely related to the issues of the Vonones family, and the assumption has always been made that Azes, the king of the Pañjab, is identical with Azes, the colleague of Spalirises. Some scholars think that there were two kings of the name of Azes and that the first Azes was the immediate successor, not of Maues, but of Spalirises, and that Maues came not only after Azes I, but also after Azes II. But the last part of the theory cannot be accepted in view of the synchronism of Gondophernes and Azes II proved by the fact that Aspavarma served as Strategos under both the monarchs.<sup>1</sup> As Gondophernes ruled in the year 103,<sup>2</sup> while Maues-Moga ruled in the year 78,<sup>3</sup> and as both these dates are referred by scholars to the same era, both Gondophernes and his contemporary Azes II must be later than Maues-Moga. There is no room for Maues-Moga between Azes I and Azes II, because we shall see presently that the succession from Azes I to Azes II is clearly established by numismatic evidence. Maues came either before Azes I or after Azes II; but we have already seen that he could not have reigned after Azes II. He must, therefore, be placed before Azes I. He must have been ruling in the Pañjab when Vonones was ruling in Sistān. When Vonones was succeeded by Spalirises, Maues was succeeded by Azes I. We have already seen

<sup>1</sup> Whitewall, Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Takht-i-Bahai inscription.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Tuxila Plate of Patika.

that Spalirises and Azes I issued joint coins.<sup>1</sup> The relationship between the two monarchs is not known. They may have been related by blood, or they may have been mere allies like Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises.<sup>2</sup>

King Azes I struck some coins bearing his own name in Greek on the obverse, and that of Azilises in Kharoshthi on the reverse. Then again we have another type of coins on which the name in Greek is Azilises, and in Kharoshthi is Aya (Azes). Dr. Bhandarkar and Smith postulate that these two joint types, when considered together, prove that Azilises, before his accession to independent power, was the subordinate colleague of an Azes, and that an Azes similarly was subsequently the subordinate colleague of Azilises. The two princes named Azes cannot be, therefore, identical, and they must be distinguished as Azes I and Azes II. Whitehead, however, observes that the silver coins of Azilises are better executed and earlier in style than those of Azes. The best didrachms of Azes compare unfavourably with the fine silver coins of Azilises with Zeus obverse and Dioskouri reverse, and with other rare silver types of Azilises. If Azilises preceded Azes, then following Dr. Smith we must have Azilises I and Azilises II, instead of Azes I and Azes II. In conclusion Whitehead says that the differences in type and style between the abundant issues of Azes can be adequately explained by reasons of locality alone, operating through a long reign.<sup>3</sup> Marshall, however, says that the stratification of coins at Taxila clearly proves the

<sup>1</sup> Rapson on pp. 573-574 of OHI identifies Azes, the colleague of Spalirises, with Azes II, and makes him the son of Spalirises. On page 572, however, the suggestion is found that Azes II was the son and successor of Azilises. It is difficult to see how the two views can be reconciled.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Whitehead, p. 178; Marshall, Taxila, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Stein Knows not only rejects the distinction of Azes, but suggests the identification of Azes with Azilises.

correctness of Smith's theory, according to which Azes I was succeeded by Azilises, and Azilises by Azes II.<sup>1</sup>

Recent discoveries have unearthed the gold coin of a king named Athama. Whitehead has no hesitation in recognising him as a member of the dynasty of Azes and Azilises. His date is, however, uncertain.

Unlike the Indo-Greek princes, the Šaka kings style themselves on their coins Basileus Basileon, corresponding to the Prākrit on the reverse Mahārājasa Rajarājasa. They also appropriate the epithet Mahatasa, corresponding to the Greek Megaloy, which we find on the coins of Greek kings. The title Rājarāja—king of kings—was not an empty boast. Moga had under him the Viceroys Liaka and Pātika of Taxila. Azes had under him at least two subordinate rulers, e.g., the Satrap Zeionises and the Strategos Aspavarma. The title Satrap or Kshatrapa occurs in the Behistun Inscription in the form Kshatrapāvan which means 'protector of the kingdom' (*cf.* Goptyi). The word "Strategos" means a general. It is obvious that the Scythians revived in North-Western India the system of government by Satraps and military governors. Coins and Inscriptions prove the existence of several other Satrapal families besides those mentioned above.

The North Indian Kshatrapas or Satraps may be divided into three main groups, *viz.*:

1. The Satraps of Kāpiśi.
2. The Satraps of the Western Pañjab.
3. The Satraps of Mathura.

A Māyikīnā inscription affords the bare mention of a **Satrap of Kāpiśi**, who was the son of the Satrap Grapafaka.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The coins which Smith assigns to Azes II are found generally nearer the surface than those of Azes I (J.B.A.S., 1914, 970). For Konow's view, see Ep. Ind., 1896, 274.

<sup>2</sup> Repson, Andhra Coins, c. 3; Ancient India, 141; JASB, 1924, 14.

The Panjab Satraps belonged to three families, *viz.*—

(a) The Kusulaa or Kusuluka Group.—It consisted of Liaka and his son Pātika, of Chhahara (a family?) and Chuksha.<sup>1</sup> According to Fleet there were two Pātikas.<sup>2</sup> But according to Marshall there was only one Viceroy of the name of Pātika.<sup>3</sup> The Satrapal line of Kusuluka was intimately connected with the Satraps of Mathurā.<sup>4</sup> The coins of Liaka Kusuluka show the transition of the district to which they belonged, *i.e.*, the Taxila region, from the rule of the Greek house of Eukratides to the Śakas.<sup>5</sup> We know from the Taxila or Sirsukh plate, dated in the year 78, that Liaka was a Satrap of the great king Moga and that Pātika was the Crown Prince (Yovarā).

(b) Manigul or Managula and his son Zeionises or Jihunia.—They were probably Satraps of Pushkalāvati during the reign of Azes II.

(c) The House of Indravarma:—It consisted of Indravarman, his son Aspavarman, and Aspa's nephew Sasas. Aspavarman acted as governor of both Azes II and Gondophernes, while Sasas served under Gondophernes and Pakores.

### The Satraps of Mathura.

The earliest of this line of princes probably were the associated rulers Hāgāna and Hāgāmasha. They were perhaps succeeded by Rañjubula. A genealogical table of the house of Rañjubula is given below:

<sup>1</sup> Bühl, Ep. Ind., IV, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 1035.

<sup>3</sup> J.R.A.S., 1914, pp. 579ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Inscription G on the Mathura Lion Capital.

<sup>5</sup> Rapson's Ancient India, p. 154.

Rañjubula—Xyasi Komīśa

Sodasa

Sodasa—Akash—Arta

Khamosta

Rañjubula, Rañjuvula or Rañjula is known from inscriptions as well as coins. An inscription in Brāhmī characters at Mora near Mathurā calls him a Mahākshatrapa. But the Greek legend on some of his coins describes him as "king of kings, the Saviour" showing that he probably declared his independence.

Rañjubula was probably succeeded by his son Sodasa. Inscription B on the Mathurā Lion Capital mentions him as a Chhatrava (Satrap) and as the son of Mahāchhatrava Rañjula (Rañjubula). But later inscriptions at Mathurā written in Brāhmī characters call him a Mahākshatrapa. One of these inscriptions gives a date for him in the year 72 of an unspecified era. It is clear that during his father's lifetime he was only a Satrap. But on his father's death sometime before the year 72, he became a Great Satrap. Sten Konow adduces good grounds for believing that Sodasa dated his inscription in the Vikrama era.<sup>1</sup> Consequently the year 72 corresponds to A.D. 15.

Dr. Majumdar refers the dates of the Northern Satraps (of Taxila and Mathurā) to the Saka era, and places them in the middle of the second century A.D. But Ptolemy, who flourished about that time, places neither Taxila nor Mathura within Indo-Scythia, i.e., the Saka dominion. This shows that neither Taxila nor Mathurā was a Saka possession in the second century A.D. The principal Indo-Scythian possessions in Ptolemy's time were Patalene (the Indus Delta), Abiria (the Ābhira country), and Syraстrene (Kathiawār).<sup>2</sup> This is exactly what we find in

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 129-131.<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 254.

the Junagadh inscription of the Saka ruler Rudradaman who flourished in the middle of the second century A.D. In Ptolemy's time Taxila was included within the Arsa (Sauš. Urash) territory,<sup>1</sup> and Mathurā belonged to the Kaspeiraioi.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Majumdar suggests that Ptolemy probably noticed the Saka empire of Maues and his successors (which included Taxila, Mathurā and Ujjayini) under the name of Kaspeiraioi.<sup>3</sup> But we should remember that far from including Taxila, Mathurā and Western India within one empire, Ptolemy sharply distinguishes the Kaspeiraioi from Indo-Scythia which was the real Saka domain in the middle of the second century A.D.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the territory of the Kaspeiraioi must have included Kaśmir (the land of Kaśvapa<sup>5</sup>); and there is no evidence that the dynasty of Maues ever ruled in Kaśmir. It was only under the kings of Kanishka's dynasty that Kaśmir and Mathurā formed parts of one and the same empire. The Kaspeiraioi of Ptolemy evidently referred to the Kushān empire.

We learn from the Mathurā Lion Capital that when Sudas, i.e., Śodasa was ruling as a mere Kshatrapa, Padika, i.e., Pātika was a Mahākshatrapa. As Śodasa was a Mahākshatrapa in the year 72, he must have been a Kshatrapa before 72. Consequently Padika or Pātika must have been reigning as a Mahākshatrapa contemporary of the Kshatrapa Śodasa before the year 72. The Taxila plate of the year 78, however, styles Pātika as a mere yovaraṇa (Crown Prince).<sup>6</sup> Dr. Fleet thinks that we have to do with two different Pātikas. But Marshall and

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 545.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 350.

<sup>3</sup> University of Calcutta, Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. I, p. 38 n.  
<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ptolemy, Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 354, and the Junagadh inscription of the Saka ruler Rudradaman.

<sup>5</sup> Rājatarangini, I, 27.

<sup>6</sup> N. G. Majumdar, J.A.S.B., 1924, 25.

Sten Konow think that Pātika, who issued the Taxila plate, is identical with the Mahākshatrapa Padika of the Mathurā Lion Capital, therefore the era in which the inscription of Sam 72 is dated, is not the same as in the Taxila plate of Sam 78. In other words while Fleet duplicates kings, Marshall and Sten Konow duplicate eras. It is difficult to come to any final decision from the scanty data at our disposal. We should, however, remember that there are instances among the Western Kshatrapas of Chashtana's line, of Mahākshatrapas being reduced to a humbler rank<sup>1</sup> and of a Kshatrapa (Jayadāman) being mentioned without the satrapal title.<sup>2</sup> It is, therefore, not altogether improbable that the inscription of Sam 72 and that of Sam 78 are dated in the same era, and yet the two Pātikas are identical. In the Jānibighā inscription king Lakshmana Sena has no royal title prefixed to his name. If Sir John Marshall is right in reading the name of Aya (Azes) in the Taxila Inscription of 136, we have an additional instance of a king being mentioned without any royal title.

Kharaosta was a grandson (daughter's son) of Rañjubula and was consequently a nephew of Sodasa. The inscriptions A and E on the Mathurā Lion Capital mention him as the Yuvaraya Kharaosta. His coins are of one class only, presenting legends in Greek characters on the obverse and in Kharoshthī on the reverse. The Kharoshthī legend runs thus : "Chhatrapasapra Khara-  
ostasa Artasa putrasa."<sup>3</sup>

The coins of the family of Rañjubula are imitated from those of the Stratos and also of a line of Hindu princes who ruled at Mathurā. This shows that in the Jumna valley Scythian rule superseded that of both Greek and Hindu princes.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Majumdar, the Date of Kanishka, Ind. Ant., 1917.

<sup>2</sup> Andhra Inscriptions.

A fragmentary inscription found by Vogel on the site of Ganeshra near Mathurā revealed the name of a Satrap of the Kshaharāta family called Ghataka.<sup>1</sup>

### The Nationality of the Northern Satraps.

Cunningham held that the inscription P on the Mathurā Lion Capital—*Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae*—gave decisive proof that Rañjubula or Rājuvula, Sodāsa and other connected Satraps were of Saka nationality. Dr. Thomas shows, however, that the Satraps of Northern India were the representatives of a mixed Parthian and Saka domination. This is strongly supported *a priori* by the fact that Pātika of Taxila, who bears himself a Persian name, mentions as his overlord the great king Moga whose name is Saka. The inscriptions of the Lion Capital exhibit a mixture of Persian and Saka nomenclature.<sup>2</sup>

### *II. The Pahlavas or Parthians.*

Already in the time of Eukratides, Mithradates I, King of Parthia, had conquered portions of the Panjab, and in the days of the Saka Emperors of the family of Maues-Moga, princes of mixed Saka-Pahlava origin ruled as Satraps in Northern India. Towards the middle of the first century A. D., Saka sovereignty in parts of Gandhara was probably supplanted by that of the Pahlavas or Parthians. In the year 41 A. D., when Apollonios of Tyana is reputed to have visited Taxila, the throne was occupied by a Parthian named Phraotes who was independent of Vardanes, the king of Babylon, and himself powerful enough to exercise suzerain power over the Satrapy of Gandhāra. Christian writers refer to a

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 138ff.

king of India named Gundaphar and his brother Gad who were converted by the apostle St. Thomas and who therefore lived in the first century A. D. We have no independent confirmation of the story of Apollonios. But the "so-called" Takht-i-Bahai record of the year 103 (of an unspecified era) shows that there was actually in the Peshawar district a king named Gudufara (Gondophernes). The names of Gondophernes and of his brother Gad are also found on coins.<sup>1</sup> According to Rapson the two brothers were associated as sub-kings under the suzerainty of Orthagnes (Verethragna). Dr. Fleet referred the date of the Takht-i-Bahai inscription to the Maurya-Vikrama era, and so placed the record in A. D. 47.<sup>2</sup> He remarked "there should be no hesitation about referring the year 103 to the established Vikrama era of B. C. 58; instead of having recourse, as in other cases too, to some otherwise unknown era beginning at about the same time. This places Gondophernes in A. D. 47 which suits exactly the Christian tradition which makes him a contemporary of St. Thomas the Apostle."

The power of Gondophernes did not at first extend to the Gandhāra region which, if Apollonios is to be believed, was ruled in A. D. 44 by Phraotes. His rule seems to have been restricted at first to southern Afghanistan. He probably succeeded in annexing the Peshawar district after the death of Phraotes (if such a king really existed). There is no epigraphic evidence that he conquered Eastern Gandhāra (Taxila) though he certainly wrested some provinces from the Azes family. The story of the supersession of the rule of Azes II by him in one of the Scythian provinces is told by the coins of Aspavarma. The latter at first acknowledged the suzerainty of Azes (II)

<sup>1</sup> Whitelock, p. 153. Gondophernes = Vindapherna (Rapson).

<sup>2</sup> J.R.A.S., 1905, pp. 223-235; 1906, pp. 708-710; 1907, pp. 169-172; 1912-1913, pp. 996-1003.

but later on obeyed Gondophernes as his overlord. Evidence of the ousting of Saka rule by the Parthians in the Lower Indus valley is furnished by the author of the Periplus in whose time (about 60 or 80 A. D.), Minnagara, the metropolis of Scythia, i.e., the Saka kingdom in the Lower Indus valley, was subject to Parthian princes who were constantly driving each other out. If Sir John Marshall is right in reading the name of Aya or Azes in the Taxila Inscription of 136, then it is clear that Saka rule survived in a part of Eastern Gandhāra,<sup>1</sup> while Peshawar and the Lower Indus valley passed into the hands of the Parthians.

The Greek principality in the upper Kabul valley was extinguished about this time. We learn from Justin that the Parthians gave the *coup de grâce* to the rule of the Bactrian Greeks. This is quite in accordance with the evidence of Archaeology. Marshall says that Gondophernes annexed the Kabul valley, overthrew the Greek principality in that region, and drove out the last prince Hermaios.

With Gondophernes were associated as subordinate rulers his nephew Abdagases, his generals Aspavarman and Sasas, and his governors Sapadana and Satavastra.

After the death of the great Parthian monarch his empire split up into smaller principalities. One of these was ruled by Sanabares, another by Pakores and others by princes whose coins Marshall recovered for the first time at Taxila. Among them was Sasas who acknowledged the nominal sway of Pakores. The internecine strife among these Parthian princelets is probably alluded to by the author of the Periplus in the following passage :—

<sup>1</sup> For the correct interpretation of "Sa 133 ayaas", see Calcutta Review, 1922, December, 493-494.

"Before it (Barbaricum) there lies a small island, and inland behind it is the metropolis of Scythia, Minnagara; it is subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out."

Epigraphic evidence proves that the Pahlava or Parthian rule in Afghaistān, the Pañjab and Sind was supplanted by that of the Gusana or Kusana or Kushan dynasty. We know that Gondophernes was ruling in Peshawār in the year 103 (A. D. 47 according to Fleet). But we learn from the Panjtar inscription that in the year 122 (A. D. 66?) the sovereignty of the region had passed to a Gusana or Kushān king. In the year 136 (A. D. 79?) the Kushān suzerainty had extended to Taxila. An inscription of that year (belonging probably to the reign of Azes II who was now a petty chief and a subordinate ally of the Kushāns) mentions the interment of some relics of Buddha in a chapel at Taxila "for the bestowal of perfect health upon the Mahārāja, rājatirāja devaputra Khushana." The Sue Vihār Inscription proves the Kushān conquest of the Lower Indus valley. The Chinese writer Panku who died in A. D. 92 refers to the Yuezhi occupation of Kao-fou or Kabul. This shows that the race to which the Kushāns belonged took possession of Kabul before A. D. 92. It is, however, asserted that Kao-fou is a mistake for Tou-mi. But the mistake in Kennedy's opinion would not have been possible, had the Yuezhi not been in possession of Kao-fou in the time of Panku.<sup>1</sup> The important thing to remember is that a Chinese writer of 92 A. D., thought Kao-fou to have been a Yuezhi possession long before his time. If Sten Konow is to be believed the Kushāns had established some sort of connection with the Indian borderland as early as the time of

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 676.

Gondophernes. In line 5 of the Takht-i-Bahai inscription Sten Konow reads "erjhana Kap[sha]sa puyaē"<sup>1</sup> "in honour of prince Kapsha," i.e., Kujula Kadphises, the Kushān king who succeeded Hermaios in the Kabul valley. Kujula Kadphises has been identified with the Kouei-chouang (Kushān) prince Kieō-tsieōū-kio who took possession of Kao-fou, Pota and Kipin. It appears from numismatic evidence that this Kushān chief was an ally of Hermaios with whom he issued joint coins. The destruction of Hermaios' kingdom by the Parthians probably supplied him with a *casus belli*. He made war on the latter and destroyed their power in North-West India.

### III. *The Great Kushāns.*

We are informed by the Chinese historians that the Kushāns were a clan of the Yueh-chi race. The modern Chinese pronunciation of the name according to Kingsmill is said to be Yue-ti. M. Lévi and other French scholars write Yue-tchi or Yué-tchi.

We learn from Ssū-ma-ch'ien who recorded the story of the travels of Chang-K'ien, that in or about B. C. 160 the Yueh-chi were dwelling between the Tsenn-hoang country and the K'ülien mountains, or Tien-chan Range in Chinese Turkestan. At that date the Yueh-chi were defeated and expelled from their country by the Hiung-nū who slew their king and made a drinking vessel out of his skull. The widow of the slain king succeeded to her husband's power. Under her guidance the Yueh-chi in the course of their westward migration attacked the Wu-sun whose king was killed. After this exploit the Yueh-chi attacked the Sakas who fled into Kipin (Kapiśa-Lampāka-Gandhāra). Meantime the son of the slain Wu-sun king grew up to manhood and drove the

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 294; XVIII (1926), p. 282.

Yueh-chi further west into the Ta-hia (Dahae ?) territory washed by the Oxus. The Ta-hia who were devoted to commerce, unskilled in war and wanting in cohesion were easily reduced to a condition of vassalage by the Yuezhi who established their capital or royal encampment to the north of the Oxus, in the territory now belonging to Bukhārā. The Yueh-chi capital was still in the same position when visited by Chang-kien in or about B. C. 125.<sup>1</sup>

The adventures of Chang-Kien as related by Ssū-ma-ch'ien in the *Ssu-ki* (completed before B. C. 91) were retold in Pan-ku's history of the First Han Dynasty (completed by Pan-ku's sister after his death in A. D. 92), with three important additions, namely :—

1. That the kingdom of the Ta-Yueh-chi has for its capital the town of Kien-chi (Lan-chau) and Kipin lies on its southern frontier.
2. That the Yueh-chi were no longer nomads.
3. That the Yueh-chi kingdom had become divided into five principalities, *viz.*, Hieou-mi (Wākhan ?), Chouang-mo (Chitral ?), Kouei-chouang (Kushān), Hitum (Bamiyan region) and Kao-fou (Kābūī).<sup>2</sup>

We next obtain a glimpse of the Yueh-chi in Fan-Ye's history of the Later Han Dynasty which covers the period between A. D. 25 and 220. Fan-Ye based his account on the report of Pan-young (cir. A. D. 125) and others. He himself died in 445 A. D. He gives the following account of the Yueh-chi conquest. "In old days the Yueh-chi were vanquished by the Huung-nū. They then went to Ta-hia and divided the kingdom among five Hi-hous or Yabgous, *viz.*, those of Hieou-mi, Chouang-mi, Kouei-chouang, Hitouen and Tou-mi. More than hundred

<sup>1</sup> J. R. A. S., 1909, pp. 19-20; 1912, p. 6682. T.A.O.S., 1917, p. 89ff.

<sup>2</sup> A later historian regards Kao-fou as a mistake for Tou-mi.

years after that, the Yabgou (Yavuga) of Kouei-chouang (Kushān) named K'ieou-tsieou-kio attacked and vanquished the four other Yabgous and called himself king (Wāg); he invaded Ngan-si (Parthia ?) and took possession of the territory of Kao-fou (Kābul), overcame Po-ta<sup>1</sup> and Kipin and became completely master of these kingdoms. K'ieou-tsieou-kio died at the age of more than eighty. His son Yen-kao-tchen succeeded him as king. In his turn he conquered Tien-tchou (India), and established there a chief for governing it. From this time the Yueh-chi became extremely powerful. All the other countries designate them Kushān after their king, but the Han retained the old name, and called them Ta-Yueh-chi."

"K'ieou-tsieou-kio" has been identified with Kujula (*cf.* Kusūluka) Kadphises, or Kozola Kadaphes, the first Kushān king who struck coins to the south of the Hindu-kush. Numismatic evidence shows that he was the colleague, and afterwards the successor, of Hermaios, the last Greek prince of the Kābul valley. The prevalent view that Kadphises conquered Hermaios is, in the opinion of Marshall, wrong. Sten Konow finds his name mentioned in the Takht-i-Bahai inscription of the year 103 belonging to the reign of Gondopernes. The inscription probably belongs to a period when the Kushān and Parthian sovereigns were on friendly terms. But the Parthian attack on the kingdom of Hermaios apparently led to a rupture which ended in war. The result was that the Parthians were ousted by Kadphises I.

Marshall identifies Kadphises I with the Kushān king of the Panjtar record (of the year 122) and the Taxila scroll of the year 136.<sup>2</sup> We should, however, remember

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps identical with the country of Po-tai which in the time of Sung-yun sent two young lions to the King of Gandhara as presents (Beal, *Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, vi). Konow (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, 278) identifies P'u-ta with Ghazni.

<sup>2</sup> J.E.A.S., 1914, pp. 977-78.

that in the Taxila inscription of 136 the Kushān king is called Devaputra, a title which was characteristic of the Kanishka group and not of Kadphises I or II. The monogram on the scroll is by no means characteristic only of coins of the Kadphises group, but it is also found, in Marshall's and Konow's opinion, on coins of Zeionises and Kuyula Kara Kapbsha.

Kadphises I coined no gold. His coinage shows unmistakable influence of Rome.<sup>1</sup> He copied the issues of Augustus or those of Tiberius, and used the titles Yavuga and Mahārāja Rajatirāja.

"K'ieou-tsieou-kio" or Kadphises I was succeeded by his son Yen-kao-tchen, the Hima, Vima or Wema Kadphises of the coins, who is usually designated as Kadphises II. We have already seen that he conquered Tien-tchou or the Indian interior and set up a chief who governed in the name of the Yush-chi. According to Sten Konow<sup>2</sup> and Smith<sup>3</sup> it was Kadphises II who established the Saka Era of A. D. 78. If this view be accepted then he was the overlord of Nahapāna, and was the Kushān monarch who was defeated by the Chinese and compelled to pay tribute to the emperor Ho-ti (A. D. 89-105). But there is no direct evidence that Kadphises II established any era. No inscriptions or coins of this monarch contain any dates which are referable to an era of his institution. On the contrary we have evidence that Kanishka did establish an era, that is to say, his method of dating was continued by his successors, and we have dates ranging from the year 3 to 99.

<sup>1</sup> Rome and its people, Romans, first appear in the *Nabšbharata* (II. 51. 17) and occur not unfrequently in later literature. Diplomatic relations between Rome and India were established as early as the time of Augustus who received an embassy from king "Pandion" (*Cumh. Hist. Ind.* 607) about 22 B.C. An Indian embassy was also received by Trajan shortly after 99 A. D. Strabo, Pliny and the *Periplo* refer to a brisk trade between India and the Roman Empire in the first century A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> The Oxford History of India, p. 129.

The conquests of the Kadphises Kings opened up the path of commerce between China and the Roman Empire, and India. Roman gold began to pour into this country in payment for silk, spices and gems. Kadphises II began to issue gold coins. He had an extensive bilingual gold and copper coinage. The obverse design gives us a new lifelike representation of the monarch. The reverse is confined to the worship of Siva which was gaining ground since the days of the Siva-Bhāgavatas mentioned by Patañjali. In the Kharoshthī inscription Kadphises II is called "the great king, king of kings, lord of the world, the Mahīśvara, the defender."

We learn from Yu-Houan, the author of the Wei-Ho composed between A.D. 239-265 that the Yueh-chi power was flourishing in Kipin (Kapisa-Gandhāra), Ta-hia (Oxus Valley), Kao-fou (Kabul) and Tien-Tchou (India) as late as the third century A.D. But the early Chinese annalists are silent about the names of the successors of Yen-kao-tchen (Kadphises II). Inscriptions discovered in India have, however, preserved the names with dates of the following great Kushān sovereigns besides the Kadphises group, viz., Kanishka I (3-28),<sup>1</sup> Vāsishka (24-28), Huvishka (31-60), Kanishka II, son of Vajheshka (41), and Vasudeva (74-98). Huvishka, Vā-jheshka and Kanishka II are probably referred to by Kalhana as Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka who apparently ruled conjointly. It will be seen that Kanishka II ruled in the year 41, a date which falls within the reign of Huvishka (31-60). Thus the account of Kalhana is confirmed by epigraphic evidence.

In the chronological order generally accepted by numismatists, the Kanishka group succeeded the Kadphises group. But this view is not accepted by many scholars. Moreover, there is little agreement among scholars who

<sup>1</sup> See J.R.A.S., 1924, p. 401. "Three Mathura inscriptions and their bearing on the Kushān dynasty" by Dayākīm Sabnī.

place the Kanishka group after the Kadphises kings. The various theories of Kanishka's date are given below:

1. According to Dr. Fleet, Kanishka reigned before the Kadphises group, and was the founder of that reckoning, commencing B.C. 58, which afterwards came to be known as the Vikrama Samvat. His view was accepted by Kennedy, but was ably controverted by Dr. Thomas, and can no longer be upheld after the discoveries of Marshall.<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions, coins as well as the testimony of Hiuen-Tsang clearly prove that Kanishka's dominions included Gandhāra, but we have already seen that according to Chinese evidence Yin-mo-fu, and not the Kushāns, ruled Kipin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra) in the second half of the first century B.C.

2. According to Marshall, Sten Konow, Smith and several other scholars Kanishka's rule began about 125 A.D., and ended in the second half of the second century A.D. Now, we learn from the Sū Vihār inscription that Kanishka's dominions included the Lower Indus Valley. Again we learn from the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman, that the Mahākshatrapa's conquests extended to Sindhu and Sauvira (which included Multan according to Alberuni). Rudradāman certainly lived from A.D. 130 to A.D. 150. He did not owe his position as Mahākshatrapa to anybody else (*svayam adhigata Mahākshatrapa nāma*). If Kanishka flourished in the middle of the second century A.D., how are we to reconcile his mastery over the Lower Indus Valley with the contemporary sovereignty of Rudradāman? Again Kanishka's dates 3-23, Vāshiska's dates 24-48, Huvishka's dates 31-60, and Vāsudeva's dates 74-98 suggest a continuous reckoning. In other words, Kanishka was the originator of an

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, J.R.A.S., 1913; Marshall, J.R.A.S., 1914.

era. But we know of no era current in North-West India which commenced in the second century A.D.

3. Dr. Majumdar thinks that the era founded by Kanishka was the Traikutaka-Kalachuri-Chedi era of 248-49 A.D. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil points out that this is not possible.<sup>1</sup> "In fact, the reign of Vasudeva, the last of the Kushāns, came to an end 100 years after the beginning of the reign of Kanishka. Numerous inscriptions prove that Vasudeva reigned at Mathurā. It is certain that this country over which extended the empire of Vasudeva was occupied about 350 A.D. by the Yaudheyas and the Nāgas and it is probable that they reigned in this place nearly one century before they were subjugated by Samudra Gupta. The capitals of the Nāgas were Mathurā, Kāntipura and Padmavati." The theory of Dr. Majumdar cannot, moreover, be reconciled with the Tibetan tradition which makes Kanishka a contemporary of King Vijayakīrti of Khotan,<sup>2</sup> and the Indian tradition which makes Huvishka a contemporary of Nāgārjuna and hence of a king of the Sātavāhana line of Kosala,<sup>3</sup> i.e., the upper Deccan which became extinguished in the first half of the third century A.D. Lastly, the catalogues of the Chinese Tripitaka state that An-Shih-Kao (148-170 A.D.) translated the Mārgabhūmi Sūtra of Saṅgharaksha, who was the chaplain of Kanishka.<sup>4</sup> This shows conclusively that Kanishka flourished long before 170 A.D. The arguments against the theory of Dr. Majumdar are equally applicable to the surmise of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar who places Kanishka's accession in A. D. 278.

4. According to Fergusson, Oldenberg, Thomas, Banerji, Rapson and many other scholars Kanishka was the

<sup>1</sup> Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> Rajatarangini, I, 173; Harshacharita (Cowell), p. 232; Wattar, Yuan-Chwang, II, p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> Elick, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, p. 860.

founder of that reckoning commencing A. D. 78, which came to be known as the Saka era. This view is not accepted by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil on the following grounds :—

(a) If we admit that Kujula-Kadphises and Hermaios reigned about 50 A.D. and that Kanishka founded the Saka era in 78 A. D., we have scarcely 28 years for the duration of the end of the reigns of Kadphises I and the whole of the reign of Kadphises II.

(But the period of 28 years is not too short in view of the fact that Kadphises II succeeded an octogenarian. When Kadphises I died "at the age of more than eighty" his son must have been an old man. It is, therefore, improbable that "his reign was protracted.")

(b) Mr. Marshall, says Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil, has discovered at Taxila in the Chir Stupa a document dated 136, which, in the Vikrama era, corresponds to 79 A.D. and the king mentioned therein is probably Kadphises I, but certainly not Kanishka.

(Now, the epithet Devaputra applied to the Kushān king of the Taxila scroll of 136, is characteristic of the Kanishka group, and not of the Kadphises kings.<sup>1</sup> So the discovery, far from shaking the conviction of those that attribute to Kanishka the era of 78 A.D., rather strengthens it. The omission of the personal name of the Kushān monarch does not necessarily imply that the first Kushān is meant. In several inscriptions of the time of Kumāra Gupta and Buddha Gupta, the king is referred to simply as Gupta nṛipa).

(c) Prof. J. Dubreuil says: "Mr. Sten Konow has shown that the Tibetan and Chinese documents tend to

<sup>1</sup> The Kadphises Kings meant here are Kujula (Kadphises I), and Vima (Wima) and not Kuyula Kara Kadphises whose identification with Kadphises I is a mere surmise. Even if Kuyula Kara be identical with Kujula and the Kushān King of the Taxila inscription of 136, it may be pointed out that it is by no means certain that the date 136 refers to the Vikrama era.

prove that Kanishka reigned in the second century.<sup>1</sup> (This Kanishka may have been Kanishka of the Ara Inscription of the year 41 which, if referred to the Saka era, would give a date in the second century A.D. Po-t'iao of Sten Konow<sup>2</sup> may have been one of the successors of Vāsudeva I: "coins bearing the name of Vāsudeva continued to be struck long after he had passed away."<sup>3</sup> Dr. Smith and Mr. R. D. Banerji clearly recognise the existence of more than one Vāsudeva.<sup>4</sup>

(d) Mr. Sten Konow has shown that the inscriptions of the Kanishka era and those of the Saka ers are not dated in the same fashion. [But the same scholar also shows that all the inscriptions of the Kanishka era are also not dated in the same fashion. In the Kharoshthī inscriptions, Kanishka and his successors recorded the dates in the same way as their Śaka-Pahlava predecessors, giving the name of the month and the day within the month. On the other hand, in their Brāhmī records, Kanishka and his successors adopted the Ancient Indian way of dating.<sup>5</sup> Are we to conclude from this that the Kharoshthī dates of Kanishka's inscriptions, are not to be referred to the same era to which the dates of the Brāhmī records are to be ascribed? If Kanishka adopted two different ways of dating, we fail to understand why he could not have adopted a third method to suit the local conditions in western India. Sten Konow himself points out that in the Saka dates we have the name of the month as in the Kharoshthī records, with the addition of the Paksha. "The Saka era which they (the western Kshatrapas) used was a direct imitation of the reckoning used by their cousins in the north-west,

<sup>1</sup> Vāsudeva? Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> E.E.T., p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> 1868, pp. 272-278.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 141.

the additional mentioning of the "paksha" being perhaps a concession to the custom in the part of the country where they ruled." It is not improbable that just as Kanishka in the borderland used the old Saka-Pahlava method, and in Hindusthān used the ancient Indian way of dating prevalent there, so in western India his officers added the "paksha" to suit the custom in that part of the country]

Kanishka completed the Kushān conquest of upper India and ruled over a wide realm which extended from Gandhāra and Kaśmir to Benares. Traditions of his conflict with the rulers of Soked (Sāketa) and Pāṭali-putra are preserved by Tibetan and Chinese writers.<sup>1</sup> Epigraphic records give contemporary notices of him, with dates, not only from Zeda in the Yuzulzai country and from Maṇikiāla near Rāwaliādi, but also from Sū Vihār (north of Sind), from Mathurā and Srūvasti, and from Sarnāth near Benares. His coins are found in considerable quantities as far eastwards as Ghāzipur and Gōrakhpur. The eastern portion of his empire was apparently governed by the Mahā-Kshatrapa Kharapallāna and the Kshatrapa Vanashpara. He fixed his own residence at Peshāwar (Parushapura) and established Kanishkapura in Kaśmir. It is, however, probable that Kanishkapura was established by his namesake of the Āra inscription. After making himself master of the south (*i.e.*, India) Kanishka turned to the west and defeated the King of the Parthians.<sup>2</sup> In his old age he led an army against the north and died in an attempt to cross the Tsungling mountains between Gandhāra and Khotan. The Northern expedition is apparently referred to by Hiuen Tsang who speaks of Chinese Princes detained as hostages at his court.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 142; Ind. Ant., 1903, p. 582.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., 1908, p. 382.

It is not improbable that Kanishka was the Kushān King repulsed by general Pan-ch'ao during the reign of the Emperor Ho-ti. It has no doubt been argued that Kanishka "must have been a monarch of some celebrity and if the Chinese had come into victorious contact with him, their historians would have mentioned it." But if we identify Pan-ch'ao's Kushān contemporary with Kadphises II, the silence of the Chinese becomes still more mysterious and inexplicable because he was certainly well known to the Annalists. On the other hand, Kanishka was not known to them, and the non-mention of his name, if he were Pan-ch'ao's contemporary, cannot be more surprising than that of his predecessor, Wema. In favour of Kanishka's identity with Pan-ch'ao's antagonist we may urge that Kanishka is known to have come into conflict with the Chinese, but the same cannot be said with regard to Wema, the events of whose reign as recorded by Chinese annalists do not include a first class war with China. The legend of Kanishka's death published by S. Lévi contains a significant passage which runs thus:—"I have subjugated three regions; all men have taken refuge with me, the region of the north alone has not come in to make its submission." Have we not here a covert allusion to his failure in the encounter with his mighty northern neighbour?

Kanishka's fame rests not so much on his conquests, as on his patronage of the religion of Sākyamuni. Numismatic evidence shows that he actually became a convert to Buddhism. He showed his zeal for his new faith by building the celebrated relic tower and Sanghārāma at Purushapura or Peshawar which excited the wonder of the Chinese and Arab travellers. He convoked the last great Buddhist council which was held in Kaśmir or Jālandhar. But though a Buddhist the Kushān monarch continued to honour his old Greek, Zoroastrian, Elamite, Mithraic and Hindu

gods.<sup>1</sup> The court of Kanishka was adorned by Asvaghosha, Charaka, Nāgārjuna, Vasumitra, Pārvī, Samgharaksha, Māṭhara, Agesilos the Greek and other worthies who played a leading part in the literary, scientific, religious, philosophical and artistic activities of the reign. Excavations at Māṭ near Mathurā have disclosed a lifesize statue of the great king.<sup>2</sup>

After Kanishka came Vasishka, Huvishka and Kanishka of the Ara inscription. We have got two inscriptions of Vasishka dated 24 and 28. He may have been identical with Vājheshka, the father of Kanishka of the Ara inscription, and Jushka of the Rājatarāngini.

Huvishka's dates range from 31 to 60. A newly discovered Mathurā Inscription<sup>3</sup> represents him as the grandson of a king who has the appellation "Sacha dharma thita," i.e., steadfast in the true Law, which occurs only on the coins of Kadphises I. Kalhana's narrative leaves the impression that Huvishka ruled simultaneously with Jushka and Kanishka, i.e., Vājheshka and Kanishka of the Ara inscription of the year 41. The Wardak vase inscription proves the inclusion of Kābul within his dominions. But there is no evidence that he retained his hold on Sind which was probably wrested from the successors of Kanishka I by Rudradāman. In Kaśmir Huvishka built a town named Hushkapura. Like Kanishka I he was a patron of Buddhism and built a splendid monastery at Mathurā. He also resembled Kanishka in an eclectic taste for a medley of Greek, Persian and Indian deities. The newly discovered

<sup>1</sup> See J.R.A.S., 1912, pp. 1003, 1004. The Buddhist goddess Nāra gave her name to the famous Nāraka coins (cf. Bhandārī, Cat. Lec. 1921, p. 161). For the influence of the Mithras (Mītr, Mīshra, Mūrm) cult on Kushān India, see Sir R. G. Bhandārī, *Zoroastrianism, Sāivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> B.H.I., p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> J.R.A.S., 1924, p. 402.

Mathurā inscription refers to the restoration during his reign of a delapidated Devakula of his grandfather.

Smith does not admit that the Kanishka of the Āra inscription of the year 41 was different from the great Kanishka. Lüders and Sten Knov, however, distinguish the two Kanishkas. According to Lüders Kanishka of the Āra inscription was a son of Vāsishka and probably a grandson of Kanishka I.<sup>1</sup> Kanishka II had the titles Mahārāja, Rājatirāja, Devaputra, and Kaisara. It is possible that he, and not Kanishka I, was the founder of the town of Kanishka-pura in Kaśmir.

The last notable king of Kanishka's line was Vasudeva. His dates range from the year 74 to 98, i.e., A.D. 152 to 176 according to the system of chronology adopted in these pages. He does not appear to have been a Buddhist. His coins exhibit the figure of Śiva attended by Nandi. There can be no doubt that he reverted to Saivism, the religion professed by his great predecessor Kadphises II. A king named Vāsudeva is mentioned in the Kāvya Mimāṃsa as a patron of poets and a Sabhāpati. That the Kushān Age was a period of great literary activity is proved by the works of Aśvaghosha, Nāgārjuna and others. It was also a period of religious ferment and missionary activity. It witnessed the development of Saivism, Mahāyāna and the cults of Mihira and of Vasudeva Krishna and it saw the introduction of Buddhism into China by Kaśyapa Mātanga (62 A.D.).

The inscriptions of Vāsudeva have been found only in the Mathurā region. From this it is not unreasonable to surmise that he lost his hold over the North-Western portion of the Kushān dominions.

In the third century A.D., we hear of the existence of not less than four kingdoms all dependent on the

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 143.

Yueh-chi,<sup>1</sup> and ruled probably by princes of the Yueh-chi stock.<sup>2</sup> These were Ta-hia (Oxus region), Ki-pin (Kāpiśa), Kao-fou (Kābul) and Tien-tchou (India proper). The Yueh-chi kingdom of Tien-tchou probably disappeared in the fourth century A.D., being conquered by the Nāgas.

#### *IV. The Nāgas and Later Kushāns.*

The prevalence of Nāga rule over a considerable portion of northern and central India in the third and fourth centuries A.D., is amply attested by epigraphic evidence. A Lahore copper seal inscription of the fourth century A.D. refers to a king named Maheśvara Nāga, the son of Nagabhatta.<sup>3</sup> The Allahabad Pillar Inscription refers to King Gnapati Nāga, while several Vākataka records mention Bhava Nāga, king of the Bhārasivas, whose grandson's grandson Rudrasena II was a contemporary of Chandra Gupta II, and who accordingly must have flourished long before the rise of the Gupta Empire. Some idea of the great power of Bhava Nāga's dynasty and the territory over which they ruled may be gathered from the fact that they performed ten Aśvamedha sacrifices and "were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) Bhāgirathi that had been obtained by their valour."<sup>4</sup> The performance of ten Aśvamedha sacrifices indicates that they were not a feudatory family owing allegiance to the Kushāns. We

<sup>1</sup> Among the successors of Vāsudeva may be mentioned Kanishka (III), Vasu (Whitehead, Indo-Greek Coins, pp. 211-212), and Grambates (Smith, EHI, p. 274). The last king of Kanishka's race was Lagatirman who was overthrown by his Brahman minister Kullar (Alberoni, II, 13). For an alleged invasion of India in the later Kushān period by Ardashir Bahugā (A.D. 226-241), the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, see Perikshā (Elliot and Dawson vi, p. 65); cf. also the Pahlavi inscription at Persepolis referred to in the Amrits Bazar Patrika, May 24, 1924, which suggests that the Sasanians exercised suzerainty over N. W. India up to the time of Sapor II.

<sup>2</sup> CII, p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> CII, p. 241; A. H. D., p. 72.

learn from the Purāṇas that the Nāgas established themselves at Vidiśā, Padmāvatī, Kāntipuri and even Mathurā which was the southern capital of Kanishka and his successors.<sup>1</sup> The greatest of the Nāga Kings was perhaps Chandrāṁsa, 'the second Nakhavant,' who was probably identical with the great king Chandra of the Delhi Iron Pillar inscription. The hand of a Nāga princess was sought by Chandra Gupta II in the fifth century, and a Nāga officer governed the Gangetic Doāb as late as the time of Skanda Gupta.<sup>2</sup> The Kushāns, however, continued to rule in the Kabul valley. One of them gave his daughter in marriage to Hormisdas II, the Sassanian King of Persia (A.D. 301-309). Sapur II seems to have exercised suzerainty over his Scythic neighbours and "when he besieged Amida in A. D., 350 Indian elephants served under his command."<sup>3</sup> Shortly afterwards the Sassanian supremacy was replaced by that of the Guptas, and the "Daivaputrasāhi sāhānuṣāhi" sent valuable presents to Samudra Gupta. In the fifth century the Kidara Kushans established their rule over Gandhāra and Kaśmir.<sup>4</sup> In the sixth century the Kushāns had to fight hard against the Huns. Kabul, their capital, was finally taken by the Moslems in 870 A.D. After that date the royal residence was shifted to Ohind, on the Indus. The line of Kanishka was finally extinguished by the Brāhmaṇa Kallār.

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> For later traces of Nāga rule, see *Bom. Gaz.*, I, 2, pp. 251, 292, 312, 374; *Ep. Ind.*, X, 23.

<sup>3</sup> J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 1082.

<sup>4</sup> J.R.A.S., 1913, p. 1084.

## SCYTHIAN RULE IN SOUTHERN AND WESTERN INDIA

### *I. The Kshaharātas.*

We have seen that in the second and first centuries B. C., the Scythians possessed Ki-pin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra) and afterwards extended their sway over a large part of Northern India. The principal Scythic dynasties continued to rule in the north. But a Satrapal family, the Kshaharātas, extended their power to western India and the Deccan, and wrested Mahārāshṭra from the Śātavāhanas. The Śātavāhana King apparently retired to the southern part of his dominions, probably to the Janapada of the Bellary District which came to be known as Śātavāhani-hāra, and was at one time under the direct administration of a military governor (*mahiṣenāpati*) named Skandanāga.<sup>1</sup> The name of the Scythian conquerors of Mahārāshṭra, Kshaharāta, seems to be identical with "Karatai," the designation of a famous Saka tribe mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy.<sup>2</sup>

The known members of the Kshaharāta, Khakharāta, or Chaharāta family are Ghataka, Bhūmaka and Nahapāna. Of these Ghataka belonged to the Mathurā region. Bhūmaka was a Kshatrapa of Kathiawār. Rapson says that he preceded Nahapāna. His coin types are "arrow, discus and thunderbolt." These types may be compared with the reverse type "discus, bow and arrow" of certain copper coins struck conjointly by Spalirises and Azes I.

Nahapāna was the greatest of the Kshaharāta Satraps. Eight Cave Inscriptions discovered at Pāndulena, near

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind. XIV, 165.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 400. Mr. T. R. Gupta points out (Ind. Ant., 1926, 178) that among the shepherds of the Deccan we have the surname Kharda which he considers to be a shortened form of Khakharāta (Kshaharāta).

Nasik, Junnar and Karle (in the Poona District) prove the inclusion of a considerable portion of Maharashtra within his dominions. Seven of these inscriptions describe the benefactions of his son-in-law Ushavadāta, the Saka, while the eighth inscription specifies the charitable works of Ayama the Amṛtya. Ushavadāta's inscriptions indicate that Nahapāna's political influence extended from Poona (in Maharashtra) and Sūrpāraka (in North Konkan) to Mandasor (Daśapura in Malwa) and the district of Ajmir including Pushkara, the place of pilgrimage to which Ushavadāta resorted for consecration after his victory over the Malayas or Malavas.

The Nasik and Karle records give the dates 41, 42, 45, of an unspecified era, and call Nahapāna a Kshatrapa, while the Junnar epigraph of Ayama specifies the date 46 and speaks of Nahapāna as Mahākshatrapa. The generally accepted view is that these dates are to be referred to the Saka era of 78 A.D. The name Nahapāna is no doubt Persian, but the Kshaharāts tribe to which Nahapāna belonged was probably a Saka tribe, and Ushavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, distinctly calls himself a Saka. It is, therefore, probable that the era of 78 A.D. derives its name of Saka era from the Saka princes of the House of Nahapāna. Rapson accepts the view that Nahapāna's dates are recorded in years of the Saka era, beginning in 78 A.D., and therefore assigns Nahapāna to the period A.D. 119 to A.D. 124. Several scholars identify Nahapāna with Mambarus (Nambanus?)<sup>1</sup> of the Periplus whose capital was Minnagara in Ariake. According to Professor Bhandarkar Minnagara is modern Mandasor,<sup>2</sup> and Ariake is Aparāntika.<sup>3</sup> Mr. R. D. Banerji and Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 785.

<sup>2</sup> See also Bomb. Gaz., I. I. 15 n.; cf., however, Ind. Ant., 1926, p. 143, Capital of Nahopāna (=Junnar). Fleet identifies Minnagara with Dehod in the French Mahrāshā (J. R. A. S., 1912, p. 788).

<sup>3</sup> Ariake may be Aryaka of Varšamihira's Brīhat Saṁhitā.

are, however, of opinion that Nahapāna's dates are not referable to the Śaka era. They say that if we admit that the inscriptions of Nahapāna are dated in the Śaka era, there will be only an interval of five years between the inscription of this king, dated 46 and the inscriptions of Rudradāman, dated 52. Within these years must have taken place :

- (1) The end of Nahapāna's reign;
- (2) The destruction of the Kshaharātas;
- (3) The accession of Chashṭana as Kshatrapa, his reign as Kshatrapa, his accession as a Mahā-kshatrapa, and his reign as Mahākshatrapa;
- (4) The accession of Jayadāman as Kshatrapa, his reign as Kshatrapa, and perhaps also his reign as Mahākshatrapa;
- (5) The accession of Rudradāman and the beginning of his reign.

There is no necessity, however, of crowding the events mentioned above within five years (between the year 46, the last known date of Nahapāna, and the year 52, the first known date of Rudradāman). There is nothing to show that Chashṭana's family came to power after the destruction of the Kshaharātas. The line of Chashṭana may have been ruling in Cutch (as the Andhau inscriptions of the year 52 suggest) while the Kshaharātas were ruling in parts of Mālwa and Mahārāshtra. Moreover, there is no good ground for believing that a long interval elapsed from the accession of Chashṭana to that of Rudradāman. Professors Bhandarkar and Majumdar have pointed out that the Andhau inscriptions clearly prove that Chashṭana and Rudradāman ruled conjointly in the year 52. Prof. J. Dubreuil rejects their view on the ground that there is no "cha" after Rudradāman in the text of

the inscription (Rājū Chashṭanasa Yśamotika-putrasa rājū Rudradāmasa Jayadāma-putrasa varshe dvipachāse 50, 2). Prof. Dubreuil translates the passage thus :

In the 52nd year, in the reign of Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman, grandson of Chashṭana and great-grandson of Yśamotika.

The Professor who objects to a *cha*, himself makes use not only of "and" but also of the words "grandson" and "great-grandson" no trace of which can be found in the original record. Had his translation been what the writer of the Andhau inscriptions intended, we should have expected to find the name of Yśamotika first, and then the name of Chashṭana followed by those of Jayadāman and Rudradāman—Yśamotika prapautrasa Chashṭana pautrasa Jayadāma-putrasa Rudradāmasa.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it is significant that in the text of the inscription there is no royal title prefixed to the name of Jayadāman who ruled between Chashṭana and Rudradāman according to Dubreuil. On the other hand, both Chashṭana and Rudradāman are called *rājā*. The two are mentioned in exactly the same way—with the honorific *Rājā* and the patronymic. The literal translation of the inscriptional passage is "in the year 52 of king Chashṭana son of Yśamotika, of king Rudradāman son of Jayadāman," and this certainly indicates that the year 52 belonged to the reign both of Chashṭana and Rudradāman. The conjoint rule of two kings was known to ancient Hindu writers on polity.<sup>2</sup> The theory of the conjoint rule of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Gṛḍa and Jādhan inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dvīṣṭja in Atharva Veda (V. 20,9); Dvalīṣṭya in Kaṇṭhyā's Arthashastra, p. 325; Drona of Āyurāṅga Sutta; the classical account of Putulena, p. 100 ante; the case of Dhūlirāshṭra and Duryodhana in the Great Epic; of Bakratides and his son in Justin's work; of Strato I and Strato II; of Ases and Asilas, etc., etc. The Mahābhāskuta (III. 432) refers to the conjoint rule of three brothers :—"Kalingasā Siñhagurāśā nāma nāgarān tataḥ trayo bhrātās ekamūrtiṇā rājyaṁ kāryaṁ tūti."

Chashtāna and his grandson is supported by the fact that Jayadāman did not live to be Mahakshatrapa and must have predeceased his father Chashtāna as, unlike Chashtāna and Rudradāman, he is called simply a Kshatrapa (not Mahakshatrapa and Bhadramukha) even in the inscriptions of his descendants.<sup>1</sup> We have already noticed the fact that the title *rājā*, which is given to Chashtāna and Rudradāman in the Andhau inscriptions, is not given to Jayadāman.

Mr. R. D. Banerji says that the inscriptions of Nahapāna cannot be referred to the same era as used on the coins and inscriptions of Chashtāna's dynasty because if we assume that Nahapāna was dethroned in 46 S. E., Gautamiputra must have held Nāsik up to 52 S. E. (from his 18th to his 24th year), then Pulumāyi held the city up to the 22nd year of his reign, i.e., up to at least 74 S. E. But Rudradāman is known to have defeated Pulumāyi and taken Nāsik before that time. Banerji's error lies in the tacit assumption that Rudradāman twice occupied Nāsik before the year 73 of the Saka era. Another untenable assumption of Mr. Banerji is that Rudradāman finished his conquests before the year 52 or A. D. 130, whereas the Andhau inscriptions merely imply the possession of Cutch by the House of Chashtāna.

The theory of those who refer Nahapāna's dates to the Saka era, is confirmed by the fact pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar and others that a Nāsik inscription of Nahapāna refers to the gold currency of the Kushans who could not have ruled in India before the first century A. D.

The power of Nahapāna and his allies was threatened by the Malayas (*Malavas*) from the north, and the Śatavāhanas from the south. The incursion of the Malavas was repelled by Ushavadatta. But the Śatavāhana attack

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Gupta and Janishan inscriptions.

proved fatal to Saka rule in Mahārāshtra. The Nāsik prāstasti calls Gautamiputra Śātakarpi the uprooter of the Kshaharāta race and the restorer of the Śatavāhana power. That Nahapāna himself was overthrown by Gautamiputra is proved by the testimony of the Jogaltembhi hoard which consisted of Nahapāna's own coins and coins restruck by Gautamiputra. In the restruck coins there was not a single one belonging to any prince other than Nahapāna as would certainly have been the case if any ruler had intervened between Nahapāna and Gautamiputra.

## *II. The Restoration of the Śatavāhana Empire.*

Gautamiputra's victory over the Kshaharātas led to the restoration of the Śatavāhana power in Mahārāshtra and the adjoining provinces. The recovery of Mahārāshtra is proved by a Nāsik inscription dated in the year 18<sup>1</sup> and a Karle epigraph addressed to the Amātya in charge of Mānala (the district round Karle, modern Māval). But this was not the only achievement of Gautamiputra. We learn from the Nāsik record of queen Gautami that her son destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas, and that his dominions extended not only over Asika,<sup>2</sup> Asaka (Āśmaka on the Godāvari, i.e., Mahārāshtra),<sup>3</sup> and Mulaka (the district round Paithan), but also over Suratha (Kāthiawār), Kokura (in Western Central or India, near the Pāriyātra or the Western Vindhya),<sup>4</sup> Aparānta (North Konkan), Anupa (district round Māhiśmatī on the Narmadā), Vidarbha (Berar), and Ākara-Avanti (East and West Mālwa). He is further styled lord of all the

<sup>1</sup> The Nāsik Edict was issued from the victorious camp at Vejayanti and was addressed to the Amātya in charge of Govardhana (Nāsik).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Arshika, Patañjali, IV, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Shastri's translation of the Arthāśāstra, p. 143, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Brhat-Saṅhitā, XI, 4.

mountains from the Vindhya to the Travancore hills.<sup>1</sup> The names of the Andhra country (Andhrāpatha) and South Kosala are, however, conspicuous by their absence. Inscriptions and the testimony of Hiuen Tsang prove that both these territories were at one time or other included within the Satavāhana empire. The earliest Satavāhana king whose inscriptions have been found in the Andhra region is Pulumāyi, son of Gautamiputra.

In the Nāsik prasasti Gautamiputra figures not only as a conqueror, but also as a social reformer. "He crushed down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas, furthered the interest of Dvijas and Kutubas (agriculturists) and stopped the contamination of the four vargas."

According to Sir B. G. Bhandarkar and Prof. Bhandarkar, Gautamiputra reigned conjointly with his son Pulumāyi. They give the following reasons:—

(1) In Gautami's inscription (dated in the 19th year of her grandson Pulumāyi) she is called the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king. This statement would be pointless if she were not both at one and the same time.

(2) If it were a fact that Gautamiputra was dead when the queen-mother's inscription was written, and Pulumāyi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the inscription. But there is not a word in praise of him. A king dead for 19 years is extolled, and the reigning king passed over in silence.

(3) The inscription dated in the year 24, engraved on the east wall of the Veranda of the Nasik Cave No. 3, which records a grant made by Gautamiputra and his mother, "whose son is living," in favour of certain Buddhist monks "dwelling in the cave which was a pious

<sup>1</sup> The possession of Vajayanti in the Kanarese country is specially referred to in the Nasik Inscription of the year 18.

*gift of theirs,"* presupposes the gift of the Nasik Cave No. 3 in the 19th year of Pulumāyi. Consequently Gautamiputra was alive after the 19th year of his son.

As regards point (1), it may be said that usually a queen sees only her husband and son on the throne. Queen Gautami Balaśri, on the other hand, was one of the fortunate (or unfortunate) few who saw grandchildren on the throne. Therefore she claimed to be the mother of a great king and the grandmother of a great king.

As to point (2), although it is not customary for an ordinary subject to extol a dead king and pass over a reigning monarch in silence, still it is perfectly natural for a queen-mother in her old age to recount the glories of a son who was associated with her in a previous gift.

As to point (3), it is not clear that the gift referred to in the postscript of the year 24 was identical with the grant of the year 19 of Pulumāyi. The donors in the postscript were king Gautamiputra and his mother, the donor in the year 19 of Pulumāyi was the queen-mother alone. In the inscription of the year 24, the queen-mother is called Mahādevā *jivasutā* Rājamātā. In Pulumāyi's inscription the epithets Mahādevi and Rājamātā are retained but the epithet "Jivasuta" is significantly omitted. The donees in the former grant were the Takirasi ascetics in general, the donees in the latter grant were the Bhadavāniya monks. The object of grant in the former case may have been merely the Veranda of Cave No. 3, which contains the postscript of the year 24, and whose existence before the 19th year of Pulumāyi is attested by an edict of Gautamiputra of the year 18. On the other hand, the cave given away to the Bhadavāniya monks was the whole of Cave No. 3.

If Gautamiputra and his son reigned simultaneously, and if the latter ruled as his father's colleague in

Mahārāshṭra then it is difficult to explain why Gautamiputra was styled "Govadhanasa Benākaṭakasvāmi," and why he addressed the officer at Govardhana directly, ignoring his son who is represented as ruling over Mahārāshṭra, while in the record of the year 19, Pulumāyi was considered as so important that the date was recorded in the years of his reign, and not in that of his father who was the senior ruler.<sup>1</sup>

The generally accepted view is that Pulumāyi succeeded Gautamiputra. We learn from Ptolemy that his capital was Baithan, i.e., Paithan or Pratishṭhāna on the Godāvari, identified by Bhandarkar with Navanara, or Navanagara, i.e., the new city. Inscriptions and coins prove that Pulumāyi's dominions included the Kṛishṇā district as well as Mahārāshṭra. We have already seen that the Andhra country is not mentioned in the list of territories over which Gautamiputra held his sway. It is not altogether improbable that Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāyi was the first to establish the Satavāhana power in that region. Sukhtankar identifies him with Siri Pulumāyi, king of the Satavāhanas, mentioned in an inscription discovered in the Adoni taluk of the Bellary district. But the absence of the distinguishing metronymic probably indicates that the king referred to in the inscription is Pulumayi I of the Purāṇas. Rapson identifies Pulumāyi with Vāsishṭhiputra Sri Śatakarni who is represented in a Kanheri inscription as the husband of a daughter of the Mahākshatrapa Ru(dra). He further identifies this Rudra with Rudradāman I and says that Pulumāyi must be identified with Śatakarni, lord of the Deccan, whom Rudradāman "twice in fair fight completely defeated, but did not destroy on account of the nearness of their connection." Prof. Bhandarkar, however, does not accept the identification of Pulumāyi with Vāsishṭhiputra.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. D. Banerji, J. R. A. S., 1917, pp. 291 et seq. Note also the epithet (Dakṣiṇā) patheśvara applied to Pulumāyi in the prasasti of the year 19.

**Śri Satakarni** of the Kanheri Cave Inscription. He identifies the latter with Śiva Śri Śātakarṇi, the Śiva Sri of the Matsya Purāṇa, probably a brother of Pulumāyi. Another brother of Pulumāyi was probably Sri Chandra Sati. A Nānāghāṭ Inscription discloses the existence of a Vāsiṣṭhiputra Chatarapana Śātakarṇi, whose identity, however, remains undetermined.

The next important kings were Sri Śāta (mis-called Sakasena) and Yajñasrī Śātakarni. Yajñasrī's inscriptions, which prove that he reigned for at least 27 years, are found at the following places, *viz.*, Nāsik in Mahārāshṭra, Kanheri in Aparānta, and China in the Krishnā district. His coins are found in Gujarat, Kathiāwar, East Malwa, Aparānta, the Central Provinces, and the Krishnā district. There can be no doubt that he ruled over both Mahārāshṭra and the Andhra country. Smith says that his silver coins imitating the coinage of the Saka rulers of Ujjain probably point to victories over the latter, and that the coins bearing the figure of a ship suggest the inference that the king's power extended over the sea. He thus anticipated the naval ventures of Sivaji and Angria.

Yajñasrī was the last great king of his dynasty. After his death the Śātavāhanas probably lost Mahārāshṭra to the Abhīra king Iśvarasena.<sup>1</sup> The later Śātavāhana

<sup>1</sup> The earliest reference to the Abhīras to which a date can be assigned is that contained in the Mahābhāskṛtya of Patañjali. The Mahābhāskṛtya as well as the Mahābhārata connect them with the Gedros—the Gedros of Alexander's historians. Their country—Abhīra—finds mention in the Peripli. In the third quarter of the second century A.D., Abhīra chieftains figured as governors of the Saka rulers of Western India. Shortly afterwards a chief named Iśvaradatta, probably an Abhīra, became Mahākshatrapa. His relation to the Abhīra king Mañjariputra Iśvara Sena, son of Śiva-Datta, remains doubtful. But some scholars are inclined to identify the two chiefs. It is also suggested that this dynasty of Iśvara Sena is identical with the Traikūṭaka line of Aparānta, and that the establishment of the Traikūṭaka era in A.D. 249 marks the date at which the Abhīras succeeded the Śātavāhanas in the Government of Northern Mahārāshṭra and the adjoining region. The last known rulers of the Traikūṭaka line were Indradatta, his son Dharmasena (455-6 A.D.), and his son Vyāghrasena (489-90), after whom the kingdom seems to have been conquered by the Vākīṭaka king Harisena.

princes—Sri Rudra Śātakarṇi, Sri Krishna (II) Śātakarṇi, Sri Chandra II and others—ruled in Eastern Deccan and were supplanted by the Ikshvākus<sup>1</sup> and the Pallavas.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Ikshvākus are known from inscriptions discovered on the ruins of the Jagayrapota stūpa in the Krishnā District. They were matrimonially connected with the Kekayas, probably a rising family of Ancient Mysore (Dabholik, A.H.D., pp. 88, 101). The only known ruler of the Ikshvāku family of Western Deccan is Sri-Vira-Purusha-datta. The Ikshvākus were succeeded by the Brihat-phritiyanas of Kudurashāra (near Meantipatam), the Saṁbhūyanas of Velegi (cf. the Sulakshna of Potamay), and the Vishvuguptas of Lopadham (near Velegi).

<sup>2</sup> The Pallavas—a people of unknown origin, claiming descent from Akvāthāmīnū—were the most important of all the dynasties that succeeded the Sātavāhanas in the Far South. Their first great king Śivā-Simha-varman is known from the inscriptions found at Mayilavalli (in Tiruvarur) and Uraichadugallū (in Belavay) to have ruled over an extensive empire including Kāñchī, Andhra-patna and Āstehazī rājya, and performed the Akvamedha sacrifice. The evidence of the Panikonda plates and the Telugu Inscription seems to suggest that the Pallava supremacy was acknowledged by the early Gaṅgas of Southern Mysore and the early Rudrakūnas of Vaijayanti (Bengaluru). About the middle of the fourth century A.D. the emperor Samudra Gupta invaded Southern India, defeated the reigning Pallava king Vishvugupta, and gave a severe blow to the power and prestige of the Empire of Kāñchī which probably led to its disruption. The history of the Pallavas during the next two centuries is obscure. Inscriptions mention the names of the following kings, but very little is known about them:—

Kings of Krishna, Guntur, and Nellore Districts.	Kings of Kāñchī.
Kumāravishṇu	Vishvugupta
Skandavarman I	Skandamati Kanagopa Virukṛṣṇa II
Viravarman	Skandavarman (Skanda- śākya).
(1) Skandavarman II (Tambupura).	Kumāravishṇu, I, recd. versal Kāñchī.
(2) Tuva-nāhāraṇa Vish- vugopa (Palakkada).	Buddharvarman, defeated Cholas.
(3) Śīhavarman (Daśa- napura, Menzelura and Vedagorahabha).	Kunika Vishṇu II
(4) Vijaya Vishvugupta Varman.	Skandavarman
Lokavishṇu and Panikonda plates?	Śīhavarman Skandavarman Nandivarman Śīhavarman Śīhavarman Mahendravarman I Narasimhavarman I Contemporary of Pu- kasini II.
	Vainikar, Vel- ur, Pañkikām Duval and Chendur grants.
	Udayeswaram etc.

The Śātakarnis of Kuntala, or the Kanarese districts,—Hāritiputra Vishṇukada-Chutakulśānanda Śātakarni, Rāja of Vaijayantipura, his daughter's son Hāritiputra Śiva-Skanda-varman (Śiva-Skand-Nāga Śrī or Skanda-Nāga Śātaka) and others were succeeded by the Kadambas.<sup>1</sup> A new power—the Vākāṭaka—arose in the central Deccan probably towards the close of the third century A.D.

### *III. The Sākas of Ujjain.*

The greatest rivals of the restored Śātavāhana Empire were at first the Śaka Kshatrapas of Ujjain. The progenitor of the Saka princes of Ujjain was Yṣamotika who was the father of Chashtana, the first Mahākshatrapa of the family. The name of Yṣamotika is Seythic.<sup>2</sup> His descendant, who was killed by Chandra Gupta II, is called a Śaka king by Bāna in his *Harshacharita*. It is, therefore, assumed by scholars that the Kshatrapa family of Ujjain was of Saka nationality.

The proper name of the dynasty is not known. Rapson says that it may have been Kārdamaka. The daughter of Rudradaman boasts that she is descended from the family of Kārdamaka kings; but she may have been indebted to her mother for this distinction. The Kārdamaka kings apparently derive their name from the Kārdama, a river in Persia.<sup>3</sup>

The Kadamba dynasty was founded by Mayurikarman, a Brāhmaṇa, who rose against the Pallavas and, helped by "Vṛihad Bṛha" and other kings, compelled the lord of Kāñchipura to confer on him the fillet of sovereignty. He soon pushed his conquests to the western coast, destroying the power of the Śātakarnis of Vaijayanti. His great-grandson Kīkuṭha-varman gave his daughters in marriage to the Guptas and other kings. His grandson Mṛigade-varman defeated the Guptas and Pallavas and had his capital at Vaijayanti. Other branches of the family ruled at Palasikā, Uchchikalinga and Triparyota. The Kadambas were finally overthrown by the Chalukyas.

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> Pāṇeśa, Bhāma Sastri's translation of Kāśīlīla, p. 93.

According to Dubreuil, Chashtana ascended the throne in A. D. 78, and was the founder of the Saka era. But this is improbable in view of the fact that the capital of Chashtana (*Tiastanes*) was Ujjain (Ozene of Ptolemy), whereas we learn from the Periplus that Ozene was not a capital in the seventies of the first century A.D.<sup>1</sup> The Periplus speaks of Ozene as a former capital, implying that it was not a capital in its own time. The earliest known date of Chashtana is S. E. 52, i. e., A. D. 130. We learn from the Andhau inscriptions that in the year A. D. 130 Chashtana was ruling conjointly with his grandson Rudradāman. Professors Rapson and Bhandarkar point out that his foreign title Kshatrapa, and the use of the Kharoshthī alphabet on his coins, clearly show that he was a Viceroy of some northern power—probably of the Kushans. Jayadāman, son of Chashtana, seems to have acted merely as a Kshatrapa and to have pre-deceased his father, and the latter was succeeded as Mahākshatrapa by Rudradāman.

Rudradāman became an independent Mahākshatrapa sometime between the years 52 and 72 (A. D. 130 and 150). We learn from the Junagadh Rock Inscription of the year 72 that men of all castes chose him as protector and that he won for himself the title of Mahākshatrapa. This probably indicates that the power of his house had been shaken by some enemy (Gautamiputra?), and he had to restore the supreme Satrapal dignity by his own prowess.

The place names in the inscription seem to show that the rule of Rudradāman extended over Pūrv-āpar-ākarāvanti (East and West Malwa), Anupanivrit or the Mahishmati (Māndhātā?) region, Ānartta<sup>2</sup> (district round

<sup>1</sup> The Periplus mentions Malichos (Maliku), the king of the Nabataeans who died in A. D. 75, and Zoscales (Za Haskale), king of the Axumites who reigned from A. D. 76 to 88 (J.R.A.S., 1917, 827-830).

<sup>2</sup> Ānartta may, however, designate the district round Vaijanagara (Bom. Gaz. I, i, 6). In that case Kukura should be placed in the Bhūrakā region. The

Dwārakā), Surāshṭra (district round Junāgadh), Svabhra (the country on the banks of the Sābarmati), Maru (Mārvār), Kachchha (Cutch), Sindhu-Sauvira (the Lower Indus Valley),<sup>1</sup> Kukura (part of Central India, probably near the Pariyātra Mt. according to the Brīhat Saṁhitā, XIV, 4), Aparānta (N. Konkan), Nishāda (in the region of the Sarasvatī and the Western Vindhya, cf. Nishādarashṭra, Mbh. iii. 130. 4; and Pariyātracharāsh, Mbh., xii. 135. 3-5), etc. Of these places Surāshṭra, Kukura, Aparānta, Anupa, and Ākarāvanti formed part of Gautamiputra's dominions, and must have been conquered either from that king or one of his sons. The Junāgadh inscription gives the information that Rudradāman twice defeated Śātakarnī, lord of the Deccan, but did not destroy him on account of their near relationship. According to Professor Bhandarkar this Śātakarnī was Gautamiputra himself whose son Vāsishthiputra Śātakarnī was Rudradāman's son-in-law. According to Rapson the lord of the Deccan defeated by the Saka ruler was Pulumāyi.

The great Satrap also conquered the Yaudheyas, who are known, from a stone inscription, to have occupied the Bijayagadh region in the Bharatpur state. If the Kushān chronology accepted by us be correct then he must have wrested Sindhu-Sauvira from one of the successors of Kanishka I.

Rudradāman apparently held his court at Ujjain, which is mentioned by Ptolemy as the capital of his grandfather Chashtana, placing the provinces of Ānarta and Surāshṭra under his Pahlava (Parthian) Amātya

Bhāgavata Purāṇa refers to Dwārakā as "Kutur-Indhaka-Vrishṇipibhū grāmāḥ" (I, 11, 10).

<sup>1</sup> Sindhu is the inland portion lying to the west of the Indus (Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, 252, 253, read with 256). Sauvira includes the littoral (Mālinda Paliha, 8. B. E., XXXVI, 269), as well as the inland portion lying to the east of the Indus as far as Multan (Alberuni, I, 802).

Suvisākha, who constructed a new dam on the famous Sudarśana Lake which owed its origin to the "care bestowed by the Maurya government upon the question of irrigation, even in the most remote Provinces."

The great Kshatrapa is said to have gained fame by studying grammar (*sabda*), polity (*artha*), music (*gāndharva*), logic (*nyaya*), etc. As a test of the civilised character of his rule it may be noted that he took, and kept to the end of his life, the vow to stop killing men except in battle. The Sudarśana embankment was built and the lake reconstructed by "expending a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town and of the province by exacting taxes (*Kara*), forced labour (*Vishti*), benevolences (*Prapaya*), and the like."<sup>1</sup> The king was helped in the work of government by an able staff of officials, who were "fully endowed with the qualifications of ministers" (*amatya guṇa samudyuktaiḥ*) and were divided into two classes, *viz.*, Mati-sachiva (Councillors) and Karma-sachiva (Executive Officers).

Rudradāman was succeeded by his eldest son Dāmaghsāda I. After Dāmaghsāda there were (according to Rapson) two claimants for the succession: his son Jivadāman and his brother Rudra Simha I. The struggle was eventually decided in favour of the latter. To Rudra Simha's reign belongs the Gupṭa inscription of the year 103 (= A.D. 181) which records the digging of a tank by an Ābhira general named Rudrabhūti, son of the general Bahaka. The Ābhiras afterwards usurped the position of Mahākshatrapa. According to Professor Bhandarkar an Ābhira named Isvaradatta was the Mahākshatrapa of the period 188-90 A.D. But Rapson places Isvaradatta after A.D. 236.

Rudra Simha I was followed by his sons Rudrasena I,<sup>1</sup> Sanghadāman and Dāmasena. Three of Dāmasena's sons became Mahakshatrapas, *viz.*, Yaśodāman, Vijayasena and Dāmajada Śri. This last prince was succeeded by his nephew Rudrasena II who was followed by his sons Viśvasena and Bhartṛdāman. Under Bhartridāman his son Viśvasena served as Kshatrapa.

The connection of Bhartridāman and Viśvasena with the next Mahakshatrapa Rudradāman II and his successors cannot be ascertained. The last known member of the line was Rudra Simha III who ruled up to at least A.D. 388.

The rule of the Sakas of Western India was destroyed by the Guptas. Already in the time of Samudra Gupta the Sakas appear among the peoples represented as doing respectful homage to him. The Udayagiri Inscriptions of Chandra Gupta II testify to that monarch's conquest of Eastern Mālwa. One of the inscriptions commemo-  
rates the construction of a cave by a minister of Chandra Gupta who "came here, accompanied by the king in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world." The subjugation of western Mālwa is probably hinted at by the epithet "Simha-vikrānta-gamini," or vassal of Simha-Vikrama, *i.e.*, Chandra Gupta II applied to Naravarman of Maudasor.<sup>2</sup> Evidence of the conquest of Surashira is to be seen in Chandra Gupta's silver coins which are imitated from those of the Saka Satraps. Lastly, Bāga in his Harsha-  
charita refers to the slaying of the Saka king by Chandra Gupta (Alipure cha para-kalatra kāmukam kāmini-veśa-  
guptascha Chandra Guptah Śaka-patim asatayaditi).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To Rudrasena's reign belong the Malwāns inscription of A.D. 200, and Jasdhan inscription of A.D. 226. In the latter inscription we have the title Bhadravakha applied to all the ancestors of Rudrasena, excepting Jayndasa.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., 1918, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> According to the commentator Gāthāra the Parakalatra and Kāmūni referred to above was Dhruvadevi, and the ruler of the Sakas was secretly killed by Chandra-

*IV. Administrative Machinery of the Scythian Period.<sup>1</sup>*

The little that we know about the administration of the Scythian Epoch leaves no room for doubt that the institutions of the age were not haphazard improvisations of military upstarts, having no relations with the past, but a highly developed and organised system—the fruit of the labours of generations of political thinkers and statesmen (*Vaktri-Prayoktri*).

The influence of *Arthachintakas* on Indo-Scythian Polity is evident. The ablest among the princes of the time assiduously studied the *Arthavidya*<sup>2</sup>; and the care taken to train the occupant of the throne, the employment of officers endowed with *Amatyagupta*, the classification of *Sachivas*, abstention from oppressive imposition of *Prayaya*, *Vishiti*, etc. and the solicitude for the welfare of the Pauras and Jānapadas clearly show that the teaching of the *Arthashastra* writers was not lost upon the Scythian conquerors of India. There was no great cleavage with the past, and the reference to *Mahāmātras*,<sup>3</sup> *Rajjukas*,<sup>4</sup> and *Samcharāntaka*<sup>5</sup> spies, indicate that the official machinery of the Maurya period had not ceased to function at least in Southern India.

gupta disguised as Dravandari while the former was making advances of love. The *Grīgakrāpanā* by Śoja throws additional light on the point, quoting passages from the *Devīchandraguptam* (see *Devīchandraguptam* by A. Rangaswami Saravati, Ind. Ant., 1923, p. 181 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> The expression "Scythian Period" has been used in this section in a broad sense to denote the epoch of all the Post-Mauryan dynasties that ruled in India during the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era. During the greater part of this period the most powerful potentate in India was the Scythian "King of Kings" who had his metropolis in the North-West, but whose commands were not unoften obeyed on the banks of the Ganges and the Godāvarī. See Calcutta Rev., Sept., 1926.

<sup>2</sup> The Junagadh Inscription of Bodhisattva (Ind. Ant., 1878, p. 291).

<sup>3</sup> Edders' Ins. No. 937, 1144. Note the employment of a Brahman as *Mahāmātra* by a Śatavahana ruler.      <sup>4</sup> Ins. Nos. 418, 1195.      <sup>5</sup> Ins. No. 1200.

But we must not suppose that the entire administrative structure of the period was a replica of the Maurya constitution. The foreign conquerors of North-Western India brought with them several institutions which had been prevalent for ages in the countries through which they passed. Thus the Persian system of government by Satraps was introduced in several provinces of Northern, Western and Southern India, and officials with the Greek titles of *Meridarch* and *Strategos* ruled contemporaneously with functionaries having the Indian designations of *Anātya* and *Mahāsenāpati*.

The tide of Scythian invasion could not sweep away the tribal republics which continued to flourish as in the days of Buddha and Alexander. Inscriptions and coins testify to the existence of many such communities,<sup>1</sup> and like the *Lichchhavis* and *Sākyas* of old, the most powerful among them were found very often ranged against their aggressive royal neighbours who were now mostly Scythian. Unfortunately, the contemporary records do not throw much light on their internal organisation, and it serves no useful purpose to ascribe to them institutions which really belong to their predecessors or successors.

Though the Scythians could not annihilate the republican clans, they did destroy many monarchies of Northern and Western India, and introduce a more exalted type of kingship. The exaltation of monarchy is apparent from two facts, namely, the assumption of high sounding semi-divine honorifics by reigning monarchs, and the apotheosis of deceased rulers. The deification of rulers, and the use of big titles are not unknown to ancient Indian literature, but it is worthy of note that a supreme ruler like Aśoka, whose dominions embraced the greater part of India and Afghanistan, was content

<sup>1</sup> e.g., the Mālavas (Malayas), Yaudheyas, Arjunayanas, Uḍūmbares, Kulites, Kunindas (see Camb. Rist. 528, 529), and Uttamabhadras.

with the titles of "Rāja" and "Devānampiya." The great rulers of the Scythian age, on the other hand, were no longer satisfied with these modest epithets, but assumed more dignified titles like Chakravarti, Adhirāja, Rājatirāja and Devaputra (the son and not merely the beloved of the gods).

In Southern India we come across titles of a semi-religious character like Bhikshurāja, Kshemarāja,<sup>1</sup> and Dharma-Mahārājadhirāja<sup>2</sup> assumed by pious defenders of Indian faiths, probably to distinguish themselves from the unbelieving foreigners and barbarian outcasts of the North-West.<sup>3</sup>

The assumption of big titles by kings and emperors was paralleled by the use of equally exalted epithets in reference to their chief consorts. Aśoka's queens appear to have been styled merely Devī. The mother of Tivara, for instance, is called "Dutī Devī" and the implication is that the elder queen was Prathamī Devī. But in the Scythian epoch we come across the titles of Agra-Mahishī and Mabadevi which distinguished the chief queen from her rivals. Among such chief consorts may be mentioned Nadassi-Akasa, Nāganikā, and Balaśrī.

The apotheosis of deceased rulers is strikingly illustrated by the growing practice of erecting *Devakulas* or "Royal galleries of portrait statues." The most famous of these structures was the Devakula of the *Pitāmaha* of Huvishka referred to in a Mathurā inscription.<sup>4</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Lüders' Ins. No. 1345.

<sup>2</sup> Lüders' Ins. Nos. 1196, 1200.

<sup>3</sup> It is a characteristic of Indian history that imperial titles of one period became feudatory titles in the next. Thus the title *Bṛāja* used by Aśoka became a feudatory title in the Scythian and Gupta periods, when designations like *Rājādhirāja* and *Mahārājadhirāja* came into general use. But even *Mahārājadhirāja* became a feudatory designation in the age of the *Pāṇḍavas*, when the loftier style of *Paramabṛāja*, *Mahārājadhirāja*, *Parameśvara* was assumed by sovereign rulers.

<sup>4</sup> J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 402.

existence of numerous royal Devakulas as well as ordinary temples, and the presence of the living *Devaputra* probably earned for Mathurā its secondary name of "The city of the gods."

The exaltation of royalty had the sanction of certain *Rājadharmas* writers who represented the king as a "Mahati devatā" in human shape. But it was probably due, in the first instance, to the Scythians who acted as carriers of Persian, Chinese and Roman ideas of kingship. The title *Rajatiraja*, as Rapson points out, is "distinctively Persian." "It has a long history from the Kshāyathiyanām Kshāyathiya of the inscriptions of Darius down to the Shāhan Shāh of the present day."<sup>1</sup> The epithet "Devaputra" is apparently of Chinese origin.<sup>2</sup> If Lüders is to be believed, one at least of the Indo-Scythian sovereigns (Kanishka of the Āra Inscription) assumed the Roman title of "Kaisar," and the dedication of temples in honour of emperors on the banks of the Tiber may have had something to do with the growing practice of erecting Devakulas on the banks of the Jumna.

A remarkable feature of the Scythian Age was the wide prevalence of the system of *Dvairājya* in Northern and Western India, and *Yauvarājya* in N. W. India and the Far South. Under both these forms of government the sovereign's brother, son, grandson, or nephew had an important share in the administration as co-ruler or subordinate colleague. In a *Dvairājya* the rulers appear to have been of equal status, but in a *Yauvarājya* the ruling prince was apparently a vice-gerent. As instances of *Dvairājya* may be mentioned the cases of Lysias and

<sup>1</sup> The expressions *Kshatrasya Kshatre* (*Brihad Aranyak Upanishad*, I. 4, 14), *Adhikāja*, *Chakravarti*, etc., are, no doubt, known to our ancient literature. But there is no proof of the use of the last two as formal styles of sovereigns till the Post-Mauryan period, while the first is never so used.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. A. S., 1912, 671, 682.

Antialkidas, Agathokleia and Strato I, Strato I and Strato II, Spalirises and Azes, Hagāna and Hagūmasha, Gondophernes and Gudana, Gondophernes and Abdagases, Chashṭana and Rudradāman, Kanishka II and Huvishka, etc., etc. Among ruling Yuvarājas may be mentioned Pātika, Kharasota and the Pallava Yuva-Mahārājas Śiva-Skanda-varman, Vijaya-Skanda-varman, and Vishṇugopa of Pālakkada.

The king, or viceroy resided in cities called *Adhishṭhāna*. The number of such *Adhishṭhānas* and various other kinds of cities (*Nagara*, *Nagari*), was fairly numerous. But regarding their administration our information is very meagre. We hear only of a city official called *Nagarākshadarśa*<sup>1</sup> whose functions are nowhere distinctly stated.

Regarding general administration, and the government of provinces, districts and villages we have more detailed information. The designations of some of the highest officers of state did not differ from those in vogue during the Maurya period. Mahāmatras, and Rajjukas play an important part in the days of the Śātavāhanas and Scythians as in the time of Aśoka. But side by side with these functionaries we hear of others who do not figure in inscriptions of the Maurya Epoch, although some of them appear in the *Arthaśāstra* attributed to Kauṭilya.

The officers most intimately associated with the sovereign were the privy councillors,—the Matisachivas of the Junāgadh epigraph and the Rahasyādhikṛita of the Pallava grants. Among other prominent court officials must be mentioned the Rāja Vaidya<sup>2</sup> and the Rāja Lipikara.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lüders Ins. No. 1351 (Udayagiri Cave Inscription).

<sup>2</sup> Ins. 1190-23.

<sup>3</sup> Ins. 271, Kasl. II, 10.

Not less important than the privy councillors were the high military officials—the Mahāsenāpati,<sup>1</sup> the Daṇḍaṇśaka and the Mahādaṇḍaṇśaka<sup>2</sup> who probably correspond to the Senāpati and Nayaka<sup>3</sup> of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. These important functionaries had probably under them subordinates like Senāgopas, Gaulmikas<sup>4</sup> (captains), Ārakshādhikṛitas<sup>5</sup> (guards), Aśvavārakas<sup>6</sup> (troopers), Bhaṭamanushyas,<sup>7</sup> etc.

We have already referred to one class of civil officers (Amātyas or Sachivas), viz., the Mati Sachivas. There was another class of Amātyas who served as executive officers (Karma Sachivas). From them were chosen Governors,<sup>8</sup> Treasurers,<sup>9</sup> Superintendents<sup>10</sup> and Secretaries<sup>11</sup> as in the days of Megasthenes.

Among treasury officials mention is made of the Gamjavara,<sup>12</sup> and the Bhāṇḍāgārīka<sup>13</sup> who was one of the principal ministers of state (Rājāmātya). But we have no epigraphic reference to the Sannidhātī or the Samāhartri till the days of the Somavamsi kings of Kaṭak. The main heads of revenue received into the Bhāṇḍāgāra or Koṣa were, as enumerated in the Junāgaḍh Inscription, Bali, Sulka and Bhāga. These sufficed to fill the exchequer of a benevolent prince like Rudradāman with kanaka, rajata, vajra, vaidurya ratna, etc. Rulers

<sup>1</sup> 1124, 1145.

<sup>2</sup> 1325, cf. Majumdar's List of Kharoshthi Ins. No. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Kav., Bk. X, Ch. 1, 2, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Lüders' Ins. 1200; Ep. Ind., XIV, 155; cf. Manu., VII, 190.

<sup>5</sup> Lüders, 1200.

<sup>6</sup> Lüders, 851, 728.

<sup>7</sup> Lüders, 1200.

<sup>8</sup> Lüders, Ins. 965.

<sup>9</sup> 1141.

<sup>10</sup> 1180.

<sup>11</sup> 1126.

<sup>12</sup> Lüders, 82. Note the employment of a Brahmana treasurer by a Scythian ruler.

<sup>13</sup> Lüders, 1141.

less scrupulous than the Mahākshatrapa doubtless oppressed the people with arbitrary imposts (*kara-vishtī-prajaya-kriyābbhiḥ*). Besides the Bhāṇḍāgara whose existence is implied by Lüders' Ins. No. 1141, we have reference to the store-house, Kosthāgara, (in Ins. No. 937), which is described in Book II, Chapter 15 of, Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. The inscriptions afford us glimpses of the way in which the revenue was spent. The attempts to provide for pāniya are specially noteworthy. The Junagadh Inscription tells us how "by the expenditure of a vast amount of money from his own treasury" a great Scythian ruler and his amātya restored the Sudarśana lake. References to the construction or repair of Pushkarins, udapānas, hradas or tadāgas are fairly common. Lüders' Ins. No. 1187 makes mention of makers of hydraulic engines (*Audayantrika*), while another epigraph<sup>1</sup> refers to a royal official called Pāniyaghārika or superintendent of water houses. Inscription No. 1186, after recording the gift of a tadāga, a nāga and a vihāra, refers to the Amātya Skandasvati who was the Karmāntika (superintendent of the work), an official designation known to the *Arthashastra* (Bk. I, Ch. 12).

In the Department of Foreign Affairs we have the Dūts, but we do not as yet hear of dignitaries like the Sāmabhivigrahika and Kumārāmātya who figure so prominently in inscriptions of the Gupta and Post-Gupta periods.

Inscriptions refer to officials like the Mahāsāmyas who preserved records, and others whose exact functions and status are nowhere indicated. Amongst these may be mentioned the Abhyantaropasthāyaka, Madabika, Tūthika and Neyika.

The big empires of North-Western India were split up into vast satrapies ruled by Mahākshatrapas and

<sup>1</sup> Lüders, 1279.

Kshatrapas. These satrapies as well as the kingdoms outside the limits of the Scythian Empire, were divided into districts called *Rāshṭra*, *Āhāra*, *Janapada*, *Desa* or *Vishaya*. We do not as yet hear of the organisation into *Bhuktis* so widely prevalent in Post-Scythian times. *Rāshṭra*, *Āhāra* (or *Hāra*) and *Janapada* seem to have been synonymous terms, as is proved by the case of Sātahani-raftha (*rāshṭra*) or Sātavāhani-hāra which is styled a *janopada* in the Myakadoni Inscription. The chief officer in a *Rāshṭra* or *Āhāra* was the *Rāshṭrika* (*Rathika*) or *Amātya*. The *Amātya* *Suvīsākha*, for instance, governed Surashṭra under the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman. The *Amātyas* *Vishṇupālita*, *Syāmaka*, and *Siva-skanda-datta* successively governed the *āhāra* or district of Govardhana (Nasik) in the time of Gautamiputra Satakarni and Pulumāyi, while the neighbouring *āhāra* of Māmālī (Poona District) was under an *Amātya* whose name ended in—*Gupta*. In the Far South the chief officer of the *Āhāra* seems to have been called 'Vyāprita.' The *Janapadas*, particularly those on vulnerable frontiers, were sometimes placed under the charge of military governors (*strategos*, *Mahāsenāpati*, etc.). The *Janapada* of Sātavāhani-hāra was, for instance, under the *Mahāsenāpati* *Skandanāga* (of the Myakadoni Inscription), and portions of the Indian borderland were governed by a line of Strategoi (*Asparavarman*, *Sasas*) under Azes and Gondophernes.

*Desa*, too, is often used as a synonym of *Rāshṭra* or *Janapada*. It was under a *Desadhikrita* (the *Deshmukh* of mediæval times), an officer mentioned in the Hirabadagalli grant of *Siva-skanda-varman*. The next smaller unit was apparently the *Vishaya* governed by the *Vishayapati*.<sup>1</sup> But sometimes even 'Vishaya'

<sup>1</sup> Lüders, 1827, 1828.

\* 929 (Lüders).

was used as a synonym of *Desa* or *Rāshṭra*, and there were cases in the Post-Gupta period of the use of the term to designate a larger area than a *rāshṭra*.<sup>1</sup>

The smallest administrative units were the villages called *Grāma* or *Gramahāra*,<sup>2</sup> and the little towns called *Nigama*. The affairs of a *grāma* were controlled by officers styled *Gāneyika* *Āyutta*<sup>3</sup> who were apparently headed by the *Grāmāni*,<sup>4</sup> *Grāmika*,<sup>5</sup> *Grāmabhojaka*<sup>6</sup> or (*Grāma*) *Mahattaraka*. Lüders' (Mathura) Inscription, No. 48, gives the names of two such *Grāmikas*, *Jayadeva* and *Jayanāga*. In Southern India we have the curious title "Muluda" applied to the head of a village.<sup>7</sup> The chief men of the *Nigamas* were the *Gahapatis*, the counterparts of the *Grāmavṛiddhas* of villages. In Lüders' Inscription No. 1153 we have evidence of the corporate activity of a *dhamma-nigama* headed by the *Gahapati*. The *Grāma* and *Nigama* organisation was the most durable part of the Ancient Indian system of government, and centuries of Scythian rule could not wipe it out of existence. The village and the *Nigamas* were also the nurseries of those ideas of associate life which found vent in the organisation of *Goshṭhis*,<sup>8</sup> *Nikāyas*,<sup>9</sup> *Parishads*,<sup>10</sup> *Sarṇghas*,<sup>11</sup> etc., about which the Inscriptions of the period speak so much. Not the least interesting of these institutions was the "Goshṭhi" which afforded a field for co-operation between kings and

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, CII, 22n.

<sup>2</sup> Ins. No. 1195.

<sup>3</sup> 1827.

<sup>4</sup> 1533.

<sup>5</sup> 48,66x.

<sup>6</sup> 120.

<sup>7</sup> Ins. 1194.

<sup>8</sup> Lüders' Ins. 279, 1331, 1835, 1338.

<sup>9</sup> 1133.

<sup>10</sup> 125, 925.

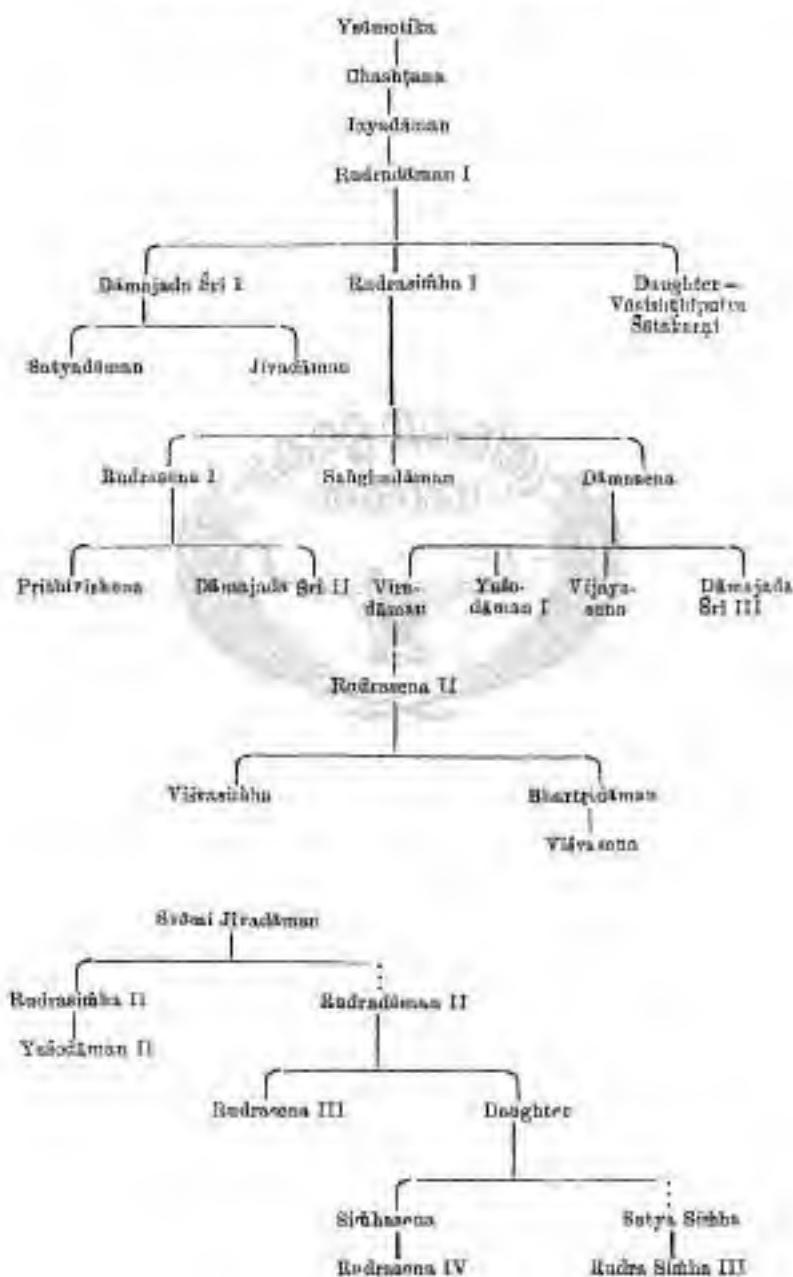
<sup>11</sup> 6, 1197.

villagers. Lüders' Ins. Nos. 1332 to 1338 speak of a "Goshṭhi" which was headed by the Rājan, and which counted among its officials the son of a village headman.

A less pleasing feature of ancient Indian polity in the Scythian as in other times was the employment of spies, particularly of the "*Samcharamlakas*," whose functions are described with gruesome details in the *Arthaśāstra*. The evidence of foreign witnesses in Maurya and Gupta periods seems, however, to suggest that political morality did not actually sink so low as a study of the *Arthaśāstra* would lead us to think. *Vatsyāyana* probably voices the real feelings of his countrymen when he says :

न शास्त्रमस्तौर्ये सावर्ण प्रयोगे कारणं भवेत् ।  
शास्त्राद्यान् व्यापिनो विद्यात् प्रयोगास्त्वेकदेशिकान् ॥  
रसवीर्यं विपाका हि ग्रन्थांसम्मापि वैद्यके ।  
कौतिंता इति तत् किं स्याद् भवनीयं विचक्षणः ॥

## GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SAKAS OF UJJAIN.



## THE GUPTA EMPIRE : THE RISE OF THE GUPTA POWER.

### *I. The Foundation of the Gupta Dynasty.*

We have seen that the tide of Scythian conquest, which was rolled back for a time by the Śatavāhanas, was finally stemmed by the Gupta Emperors. It is interesting to note that there were many Guptas among the officials of the Śatavāhana conquerors of the Śakas, e.g., Siva Gupta of the Nasik Inscription of the year 18,—Gupta of the Karle inscription, and Sivaskanda Gupta of the same inscription. It is difficult to say whether there was any connection between these Guptas and the Imperial Gupta family of Northern India.

Scions of the Gupta family are not often mentioned in old Brāhmaṇi Inscriptions. The Ichchhāśwar (Bāndā district) Buddhist Statuette Inscription<sup>1</sup> mentions the benefaction of Mahadevi, queen of Sri Haridasa, sprung from the Gupta race (Gupta vāṁśodita). A Bharaut Buddhist Pillar Inscription<sup>2</sup> of the Sunga period refers to a "Gaupti" as the queen of Rājan Visadeva, and the grandmother of Dhanabhūti, probably a feudatory of the Sungas.

Traces of Gupta rule in Magadha are found as early as the second century A. D. I-Tsing, a Chinese pilgrim, who travelled in India in the seventh century A. D., mentions a Mahārāja Śri Gupta who built a temple near Mṛigaśikhavana. I-Tsing's date would place him about A.D. 175.<sup>3</sup> Allian rejects the date, and identifies Śri Gupta with Gupta the great-grandfather of Samudra Gupta, on the ground that it is unlikely that we should have two

<sup>1</sup> Läders, No. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Läders, No. 887.

<sup>3</sup> Allian, *Gupta Coins, Introduction*, p. xv.

different rulers in the same territory, of the same name, within a brief period. But, have we not two Chandra Guptas and two Kumāra Guptas within brief periods? There is no cogent reason for identifying Sri Gupta of A. D. 175 with Samudra Gupta's great-grandfather who must have flourished about a century later.

The names of Sri Gupta's immediate successors are not known. The earliest name of the Gupta family of Magadha which appears in inscriptions is that of Mahārāja Gupta who was succeeded by his son Mahārāja Ghatotkacha.

## *II. Chandra Gupta I.*

The first independent sovereign (Maharajadhiraja)<sup>1</sup> of the line was Chandra Gupta I, son of Ghatotkacha, who ascended the throne in 320 A. D., the initial date of the Gupta Era. Like his great fore-runner Bimbisāra he strengthened his position by a matrimonial alliance with the Licchhavis of Vaishali, and laid the foundations of the Second Magadhan Empire. The union of Chandra Gupta I with the Licchhavi family is commemorated by a series of coins having on the obverse standing figures of Chandra Gupta and his queen, the Licchhavi Princess Kumāradevi, and on the reverse a figure of Lakshmi with the legend "Lichchhavayah" probably signifying that the prosperity of Chandra Gupta was due to his Licchhavi alliance. Smith suggests that the Licchhavis were ruling in Pataliputra as tributaries or feudatories of the Kushāns and that through his marriage Chandra Gupta succeeded to the power of his wife's relatives. But Allian points

<sup>1</sup> In the Riddhapur plates (J. A. S. B., 1924, 58), however, Chandra Gupta I and even Samudra Gupta are called simply Mahārāja.

out that Pataliputra was in the possession of the Guptas even in Sri Gupta's time.<sup>1</sup>

From our knowledge of Samudra Gupta's conquests it may be deduced that his father's rule was confined to Magadha and the adjoining territories. In the opinion of Allan the Purāṇic verses defining the Gupta dominions refer to his reign :

Anugāṅgā Prayāgamecha Śaketam Magadhāṁstathā  
Etan janapadan sarvan bhokshyante Guptavarmśajāḥ.

It will be seen that Vaisālī is not included in this list of Gupta possessions. Therefore, we cannot concur in Allan's view that Vaisālī was one of Chandra Gupta's earliest conquests. Nor does Vaisālī occur in the list of Samudra Gupta's acquisitions. It first appears as a Gupta possession in the time of Chandra Gupta II, and constituted a Viceroyalty under an Imperial Prince.

### *III. Samudra Gupta Parākramāṇka.<sup>2</sup>*

Chandra Gupta I was succeeded by his son Samudra Gupta. It is clear from the Allahabad Prasasti and from the epithet *tatparigṛihita* applied to Samudra Gupta in other inscriptions that the prince was selected from among his sons by Chandra Gupta I as best fitted to succeed him. The new monarch seems also to have been known as Kācha.<sup>3</sup>

It was the aim of Samudra Gupta to bring about the political unification of India and make himself an *Ekarāṭ* like Mahāpadma. But his only permanent annexation

<sup>1</sup> Eichhorn's North Indian Inscription No. 541, however, suggests some connection between the Licchavis and Pataliputra (Pāṭaliputra).

<sup>2</sup> The titles *Parākrama* and *Parākramāṇka* are found on coins (Allan Catalogue, p. 17) and in the Allahabad Prasasti (CII, p. 6).

<sup>3</sup> The epithet *Sarva-rājēchchhaiteś* found on Kācha's coins shows that he was identical with Samudra Gupta.

was that of portions of Āryāvarta. Following his "Sarvakshatrāntaka" predecessor, this *Sarma-rājochchhettī* uprooted Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Chandravarman, Ganapati Nāga, Nāgasena, Achyuta, Nandi, Balavarman and many other kings of Āryavarta, captured the scion of the family of Kota and made all kings of the forest countries (*āśavika-rājas*) his servants. Rudradeva has been identified by Dikshit with Rudrasena Vākātaka. But the Vākātakas can hardly be regarded as rulers of Āryavarta, and they were far from being uprooted in the time of Samudra Gupta.<sup>1</sup> Matila has been identified with a person named Mattila mentioned in a seal found in Bulandshahr. The absence of any honorific title on the seal leads Allan to suggest that it was a private one. But we have already come across many instances of princes being mentioned without any honorific. Chandravarman has been identified with the king of the same name mentioned in the Susunia (Bankura District) inscription, who was the ruler of Pokharana or Pushkarana. Some scholars identify this place with Pokarnā in Marwar, and further equate Siddhavarman, the name of the father of Chandravarman, with that of Simhavarman of the Mandasor family. But there is very little to be said in support of this conjecture. Pokharana is really a village on the Damodara river in the Bankura District, some 25 miles east of Susunia Hill.<sup>2</sup>

Ganapati Nāga, Nāgasena and Nandi seem to have been Nāga princes. That Ganapati Nāga was a Nāga

<sup>1</sup> See I.H.Q., I, 2, 234.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. S. K. Chatterji, "The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language," II, 106; I.H.Q., I, 2, 255. Pāṇḍit H. P. Śāstri believes that this petty king is identical also with the mighty sovereign Chandra of the Mahamati Iron Pillar Inscription who "in battle in the Vāgha countries turned back with his breast the enemies who uniting together came against him, and by whom having crossed in warfare the seven mountains of the Indus the Vāshikas were conquered." It should, however, be noted that the Purāṇas represent the Nāgas as ruling in

prince is evident. This ruler is also known from coins found at Narwar and Besnagar.<sup>1</sup> Nāgasena, scion of the house of Padmāvatī<sup>2</sup> (near Narwar on the Sindh River between Gwalior and Jhansi) is mentioned in the Harshacharita (Nāga-kula-janmanah sārikāśravita mantrasya śāduñśo Nāgasenasya Padmāvatyām). Nandi was also probably a Nāga prince. In the Purāvas Sīsu Nandi and Nandiyasas are connected with the Nāga family of Central India. We know also the name of a Nāga prince named Sivanashdi.<sup>3</sup> Achyuta was probably a king of Abichchhatra, the modern Raunagar in the Bareli District. To him has been attributed the small copper coins bearing the syllables 'achyu' found at Abichchhatra.<sup>4</sup> As to the Kota-kula Rapson<sup>5</sup> draws our attention to certain coins bearing the inscription *Kota*. These resemble the "Sruta coins" attributed to a ruler of Śrāvasti, and should apparently be referred to that region.

The conquered territories were constituted as *vishayas* or Imperial sub-provinces. Two of these *vishayas* are known from later inscriptions, namely, Antarvedi and Arikipa. It is significant that Nāgas (e.g., the Visayapati Sarvanāga) figure as rulers of Antarvedi as late as the time of Skanda Gupta.

the Jumna valley and Central India in the fourth century A.D. We learn from the Vishnū Purāta that Nāga dynasties ruled at Padmāvatī and Mathurā. A Nāga line probably ruled also at Vidiś (Puryciter, *Kali Āge*, p. 48). Two kings named Sada-Chandra and Chandrānta "the second Nakavant" are mentioned among the post-Ashokan kings of Nāga lineage. One of these, preferably the latter, may have been the Chandra of the Meharali Inscription. The Yālikas beyond "the seven mouths of the Indus" are apparently the Baktrians occupying the country near Arakhsia in the time of the geographer Ptolemy (*Ind. Ant.*, 1884, p. 408).

<sup>1</sup> I.H.Q., I, 2, 255.

<sup>2</sup> Padmāvatī—<sup>16</sup> Padma Pawāyā (25 miles n. e. of Narwar) is the apex of the confluence of the Sindh and Pāra. Nāga coins have been found here; also a Palm-leaf capital with an inscription of the first or second century B.C.—EHI,<sup>6</sup> p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> Duhrauli, Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Albus, *Gupta Coins*, xxii.

<sup>5</sup> J. R. A. S., 1898, 449 f.

The annexation of the northern kingdoms named above was not the only achievement of Samudra Gupta. He made the rulers of the Āṭavika rājyas his servants, led an expedition to the south, and made his power felt by the potentates of Eastern Deccan. We perceive, however, a difference between his northern and southern campaigns. In the north he played the part of a digvijayī of the Early Magadhan type.<sup>1</sup> But in the south he followed the Epic and Kauṭilyan ideal of a dharmavijayī, i.e., he defeated the kings but did not annex their territory.

The Āṭavika rājyas undoubtedly included the realm of Alavaka (Ghāzipur) as well as the Forest kingdoms connected with Dabhāla, i.e., the Jabalpur region.<sup>2</sup> The conquest of this region by Samudra Gupta is proved also by his Erāṇ inscription. One of the Āṭavika states was apparently Kotāṭavi mentioned in the commentary on the *Hāmācharita* of Sandhyākara Nandi (p. 36). In Ep. Ind. VII, p. 126, we have a reference to a place called Vatāṭavi.

The Kings of Dakshinapatha who came into conflict with the great Gupta were Mahendra of Kosala, Vyāghravaraja of Mahākāntāra, Maptaraja of Kaurāla, Svāmidatta of Koṭṭura, a chieftain of Pishṭapura whose precise name is uncertain, Damana of Erāṇapalla, Vishṇugopa of Kāñchi, Nilaraja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Vengi, Ugrasena of Palakka, Kuvera of Devarāshṭra, and Dhanañjaya of Kusthalapura.

Kosala is South Kosala which comprised the modern Bilāspur, Raipur and Sambalpur districts, and occasionally

<sup>1</sup> This kind of Vijaya is termed Asura-vijaya in the Arthaśāstra (p. 382). The name may have been derived from the Assyrians, the ruthlessness of whose conquests is well known. Conquest of this type is first met with in India in the sixth century B. C. (cf. Ajātaśāṭra's conquest of the Licchivikas and Viśuḍibha's conquest of the gṛikyas) when Persia served as a link between Assyria and India.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, OII, p. 114; Ep. Ind., VIII, 284-287.

even a part of Gañjam.<sup>1</sup> Its capital was Śripura, the modern Sirpur, about forty miles east by north from Raipur.<sup>2</sup> Mahākantāra is apparently a wild tract of Central India probably identical with the Jaso State.<sup>3</sup> Kaurāla, probably a variant of Kerala,<sup>4</sup> is apparently the district of which the capital in later times was Yayātinagari on the Mahānādi (near Sonpur).<sup>5</sup> The poet Dhoyi, in his *Pavanadūtam*, connects the Keralis with Yayātinagari:

Lilāñ netum nayana-padaivm Keralinām ruteśchet  
Gachchheḥ khyatām jagati nagarim śkhyayatām Yayāteḥ.

Dr. Barnett, however, suggests the identification of Kaurāla with one of the villages that now bear the name Kōrāda.

Kottūra has been identified with Kothoor, 12 miles south-east of Mahendragiri in Gañjam.<sup>6</sup> Pishṭapura is Pithāpuram in the Godāvari district. Eranḍapalla is identified by Fleet with Erandol in Khandesh, and by Dubreuil with Erandapali "a town probably near Chicascole" in the Gañjam district.<sup>7</sup> But G. Ramdas<sup>8</sup> suggests the identification of Erandapalla with Yendipalli in Vizagapatam or Endapilli in Ellore Taluk. Kāñchi is Conjeeveram near Madras. Avamukta cannot be satisfactorily identified. But the name of its king Nilarāja reminds us of Nilapalli "an old seaport near

<sup>1</sup> Kodgoda, Ep. Ind., VI, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, CII, p. 292.

<sup>3</sup> G. Ramdas (I.H.Q. I, 4, 684) identifies Mahākantāra with the 'Jhād-khand' Agency towns of Gañjam and Vizagapatam.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, CII, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. Ind., XI, p. 189. Kanēśa cannot be Kolleru or Colair which must have been included within the territory of Haśitarman of Venṭī.

<sup>6</sup> There is another Kollera<sup>1</sup> at the foot of the hills in the Vizagapatam district (Vis. Dist. Gaz., I, 137).

<sup>7</sup> Dahrendorf, A. H. D., pp. 58-60.

<sup>8</sup> I.H.Q., I, 4, p. 682.

"Yanam" in the Godāvari district.<sup>1</sup> Vengi has been identified with Vegi or Pedda-Vegi, 7 miles north of Ellore (Krishnā District). Its King Hastivarman has been identified by Hultzsch with Attivarman of the Pallava race.<sup>2</sup> Palakka is probably identical with Palakkada, the seat of a Pallava viceroyalty. G. Ramdas locates it in the Nellore District.<sup>3</sup> Devarāshṭra is the Yellamanchili tract in the Vizagapatam district.<sup>4</sup> Kusthalapura is according to Dr. Barnett probably Kuttalur, near Polur, in North Arcot.<sup>5</sup>

The capture and liberation of the southern kings, notably of the ruler of Koṭṭūra near Mahendragiri, reminds us of the following lines of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvāṁśa* :—

Gṛibita-pratimuktasya sa dharma-vijayi nripah  
Sriyam Mahendra-nāthasya jahāra natu medicim.

It is not a little surprising that the Allahabad Praśasti contains no reference to the Vakatakas who were now the predominant power in the region between Bundelkhand and Karnātaka. The earliest reference to the Vakatakas occurs in certain inscriptions of Amarāvatī.<sup>6</sup> The dynasty rose to power under Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravarasena I. Pravarasena appears to have been succeeded by his grandson Rudrasena I. Prithivishēha I, the son and successor of Rudrasena I, must have been a contemporary of Samudra Gupta inasmuch as his son Rudrasena II was a contemporary of Samudra Gupta's son Chandra Gupta II. Prithivishēha I's political influence

<sup>1</sup> Gazetteer of the Godāvari District, Vol. I, p. 213.

<sup>2</sup> L.H.Q., I, 2, p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> L.H.Q., I, 4, 686.

<sup>4</sup> Dubroil, A. H. D., p. 160; A. S. B., 1908-9, p. 123.

<sup>5</sup> Cal. Rev., 1824, p. 288n.

<sup>6</sup> Ep. Ind., XV, pp. 261, 267.

extended from Nachnē-ki-talai and Ganj in Bundelkhand<sup>1</sup> to the borders of Kuntala<sup>2</sup>, i.e., the Kanarese country. One of the Ajantā inscriptions credits him with having conquered the lord of Kuntala. The Nach-nē-ki-talai and Ganj regions were ruled by his vassal Vyāghradeva. Prof. Dubreuil, however, says that the Nāchnā and Ganj inscriptions which mention Vyāghra, belong not to Prithivishena I but to his descendant Prithivishena II. But this is improbable in view of the fact that from the time of Prithivishena II's great-grandfather, if not from a period still earlier, down to at least A.D. 528, the princes of the region which intervenes between Nāchnā and Ganj and the Vakātaka territory, owned the sway of the Gupta empire. Now as Vyāghra of the Nāchnā and Ganj records acknowledges the supremacy of the Vakātaka Prithivishena, this Prithivishena can only be Prithivishena I who ruled before the establishment of the Gupta supremacy in Central India by Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II (*cf.* the Eran and Udayagiri Inscriptions), and not Prithivishena II during whose rule the Guptas, and not the Vakātakas, were the acknowledged suzerains of the Central Provinces as we know from the records of the Parivrājaka Mahārājas.<sup>3</sup>

The absence of any reference to Prithivishena I in Harishena's Praśasti is explained by the fact that Samudra Gupta's operations were confined to the eastern part of Trans-Vindhyan India. There is no reliable evidence that the Gupta conqueror carried his arms to the central and western parts of the Deccan, i.e., the territory ruled by Prithivishena I himself. Prof. Dubreuil has shown that the identification of Devarāshṭra with Mahārāshṭra and of Eranḍapalla with Eranḍol in Khandesh, is wrong.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, CII, p. 233; Ep. Ind., XVII, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Modern Review, April, 1921, p. 475.

<sup>3</sup> Karpiṭa, Ind. Ant., 1878, p. 618.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Modern Review, 1921, p. 487.

Though Samudra Gupta did not invade the Western Deccan it is clear from his Eran Inscription that he did deprive the Vākāṭakas of their possessions in Central India. But these possessions were not directly governed by the Vākāṭaka monarch, but were under a vassal prince. In the time of Prithivishena this prince was Vyāghra. We should naturally expect a conflict between the Vākāṭaka feudatory and the Gupta conqueror. Curiously enough the Allahabad Prasasti refers to Samudra Gupta's victory over Vyāghra-rāja of Mahākantāra. It is probable that this Vyāghra-rāja is identical with the Vyāghra of the Nachnā inscription who was the Central Indian feudatory of Prithivishena. As a result of Samudra Gupta's victory the Guptas succeeded the Vākāṭakas as the paramount power of Central India. Henceforth the Vākāṭakas appear as a purely southern power.

The victorious career of Samudra Gupta must have produced a deep impression on the *pratyanta nripatis* or frontier kings of North-East India and the Himalayan region, and the tribal states of the Pañjab, Western India and Mālwa who are said to have gratified his imperious commands (*Prachanda Sāsana*) "by giving all kinds of taxes, obeying his orders and coming to perform obeisance." The most important among the North-East Indian frontier kingdoms which submitted to the mighty Gupta Emperor were Samataṭa (part of East Bengal bordering on the sea, having its capital probably at Karmānta or Kāmpta near Comilla), Davaka (not satisfactorily identified) and Kamarūpa (in Assam); we learn from the Damodarapur plates that Pundravardhana or North Bengal formed an integral part of the Gupta Empire and was governed by a line of Uparika Mahārājas as vassals of the Gupta Emperor. The identification of Davaka with certain districts of North Bengal is, therefore, wrong. The Northern *Pratyantas* were Nepal and Kartripura. The

latter principality comprised probably Katarpur in the Jalandhar district, and the territory of the Katur, Katuria or Katyur rājas of Kumaṇṇ, Garhwal and Rohilkhand<sup>1</sup>.

The tribal states which paid homage were situated on the western and south-western fringe of Āryāvarta proper. Among these the most important were the Mālavas, Arjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Mudrakas, Ābhīras, Prārjunas, Sanakānikas, Kākas and Kharaparikas.

The Mālavas were in the Pāñjāb in the time of Alexander. They were probably in Rājaputāna when they came into conflict with Ushavadāta. Their exact location in the time of Samudra Gupta cannot be determined. In the time of Samudra Gupta's successors they were probably connected with the Mandasor region. We find princes of Mandasor using the reckoning (commencing B.C. 58) handed down traditionally by the Mālava-gaṇa (Mālava-gaṇa-gānata).

The Arjunāyanas and the Yaudheyas are placed in the northern division of India by the author of the Brīhat-Saṁhitā. They may have been connected with the Pānduouj or Pāñdava tribe mentioned by Ptolemy as settled in the Pāñjāb.<sup>2</sup> The connection of the Arjunāyanas with the Pāñdava Arjuna is apparent. Yaudheya appears as the name of a son of Yudhiṣṭhīra in the Mahābhārata.<sup>3</sup> The Harivishā, a later authority, connects the Yaudheyas with Uśinara.<sup>4</sup> A clue to the locality of this tribe is given by the Bijayagadh inscription.<sup>5</sup> The hill fort of Bijayagadh lies about two miles to the south-west of Byānk in the Bharatpur state of Rājaputāna. According to Dr. V. Smith<sup>6</sup> the Yaudhe-

<sup>1</sup> E.H.I., 295n, J.B.A.S., 1895, 105.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., XIII, 391, 348.

<sup>3</sup> Adi, 96, 76.

<sup>4</sup> Pargiter, Mārkandeya Purāṇa, p. 380.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, O.I.L., p. 251.

<sup>6</sup> J.B.A.S., 1897, p. 30.

yas occupied the tract still known as Johiya-bār along both banks of the Sutlej.

The Madrakas had their capital at Śākala or Śialkot in the Pañjab. The Ābhiras occupied the tract in western Rajputāna, near Vinaśana<sup>1</sup> in the district called Abiria by the Periplus. We have already seen that an Ābhira became Mahākshatrapa of western India and supplanted the Śātavāhanas in a part of Mahārāshṭra in the second or third century A.D. The territories of the Prājunas, Sanakānikas, Kākas and Kharaparikas lay probably in Central India. The Prājunas are mentioned in the Arthaśāstra of Kaṇṭilya (p. 194) and are located by Smith<sup>2</sup> in the Narsinhapur District of C.P. A clue to the locality of the Sanakānikas is given by one of the Udayagiri inscriptions of Chandra Gupta I. The Kākas find mention in Mbh. VI. 9.64—*Rishikā Vidabhāḥ Kākāḥ Taṅganā-Paratoṅganā*. In the Bombay Gazetteer Kāka is identified with Kakupur near Bithur. Smith suggests that the name may be locally associated with Kākanāda (Śāṅchi). The Kharaparikas may have occupied the Damoh District of C.P.<sup>3</sup>

The rise of a new indigenous Imperial power could not be a matter of indifference to the **foreign potentates** of the Uttarāpatha, Malwa and Surāshṭra who hastened to buy peace "by acts of homage, such as self-sacrifice, the bringing of gifts of maidens, the soliciting of charters confirming in the enjoyment of their territories, bearing the Garuḍa seal." The foreign powers who thus established diplomatic relations with Samudra Gupta were the Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhanushāhi and the Saka Marundas as well as the people of Simhala and all other dwellers in Islands.

<sup>1</sup> Sādrābhīrū prati śreshṭa yatra naśīt Śāsavati, Mbh. IX. 87.1.

<sup>2</sup> J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 892.

<sup>3</sup> Bh. Sudarkar, I.H.Q., 1925, 258; Ep. Ind., XII., 46.

The Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhanushāhi was apparently the Kushān ruler of the north-west, a descendant of the Great Kanishka. The Saka Muruṇḍas were apparently the Scythian chieftains of Surāshtra and Central India, the representatives of a power which once dominated even the Ganges valley. Sten Konow tells us that Muruṇḍa is a Saka word meaning lord, Sanskrit Svāmin. The epithet Svāmin was used by the Kshatrapas of Surāshtra and Ujjain. A Sāñchi Inscription recently discovered by Marshall discloses the existence of another Saka principality ruled about A.D. 319 by the Mahādanḍanayaka Śridharavarman.<sup>1</sup> A Muruṇḍa Svāminī is mentioned in a Khoh Inscription (Central India). The existence of a Muruṇḍa power in the Ganges valley in the second century A.D. is vouched for by Ptolemy.<sup>2</sup>

Samudra Gupta's Ceylonese contemporary was Megha-varpa. A Chinese historian relates that Megha-varpa sent an embassy with gifts to Samudra Gupta and obtained his permission to erect a splendid monastery to the north of the holy tree at Bodh Gayā for the use of pilgrims from the Island.

Allan thinks that it was at the conclusion of his campaigns that the Gupta conqueror celebrated the horse-sacrifice which, we are told in the inscriptions of his successors, had long been in abeyance. But it should be noted that the Aśvamedha was celebrated by several kings during the interval which elapsed from the time of Pushyamitra to that of Samudra Gupta, e.g., Śatakarnī, the husband of Nāyanikā, Pravarasena I Vākātaka, great-grandfather of Prithivisheṇa I, the contemporary of Samudra Gupta, the Pallava Siva-skanda-varman of the Prākrit Hirahadagalli record, and the Nāga kings of the house of Bharasiva. It is probable, however, that the

<sup>1</sup> Ep., Ind., XVI, p. 222; J.B.A.S., 1928, 337 n.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., 1884, 277.

court poets of the Guptas knew little about these monarchs. After the horse sacrifice Samudra Gupta apparently took the title of *Aśva-medha-parākramāḥ*.

If Harishena, the writer of the Allahabad Praśasti, is to be believed, the great Gupta was a man of versatile genius. "He put to shame the preceptor of the lord of Gods and Tumburu and Nārada and others by his sharp and polished intellect and choral skill and musical accomplishments. He established his title of Kavirāja by various poetical compositions".<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately none of these compositions have survived. But the testimony of Harishena to his musical abilities finds corroboration in the lyrist type of his coins.

The attribution of the coins bearing the name Kacha to Samudra Gupta may be accepted. But the emperor's identification with Dharmāditya of a Faridpur grant is clearly wrong. The titles used by this monarch were Apratiratha, Kritānta-parasu, Sarva-rāj-ochchhetta,<sup>2</sup> Vyāghra-parākrama, Aśva-medha-parākrama, and Parākramānka but not Dharmāditya.

We possess no dated documents for Samudra Gupta's reign. The Gaya grant professes to be dated in the year 9, but no reliance can be placed on it and the reading of the numeral is uncertain. Smith's date (230-375) for Samudra Gupta is conjectural. As the earliest known date of Chandra Gupta II is A.D. 401, it is not improbable that his father and predecessor died sometime after A.D. 375.

<sup>1</sup> According to the Kāvya Mimāṃsa (G.O.S. pp. xvi, 19) a "Kavirāja is one stage further than a Mahākavi, and is defined as one who is unrestrained in various languages, various sorts of poetical compositions and various sentiments".

For the intellectual activities of the Gupta Age, see Bhandarkar, "A Peep into the Early History of India" pp. 61-74.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the epithet "Sarva-kalitrāṭṭaka" applied to his great fore-runner Mahapadma Nanda.

THE GUPTA EMPIRE—(*continued*) : THE AGE OF THE  
VIKRAMĀDITYAS.

*I. Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya.*

Samudra Gupta was succeeded by his son Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya (also called Simha Chandra and Simha Vikrama), born of queen Dattadevi. Chandra Gupta was chosen out of many sons by his father as the best fitted to succeed him. Another name of the new monarch disclosed by certain Vākātaka inscriptions, the Archer type of coins and the Sāñchi inscription of A.D. 412 was Deva Gupta, Deva-sīrī or Deva-rāja.<sup>1</sup>

For his reign we possess a number of dated inscriptions so that its limits may be defined with more accuracy than those of his predecessors. His accession should be placed before A.D. 401-2, and his death in or about A.D. 413-14.

The most important external events of the reign were the Emperor's matrimonial alliance with the Vākātaka king Rudrasena II, son of Pīthivishena I, and the war with the Saka Satraps which added Mālwa and Surāshṭra to the Gupta dominions.

Matrimonial alliances occupy a prominent place in the foreign policy of the Guptas. The Lichchhavi alliance had strengthened their position in Bihar. After the conquest of the upper provinces they sought alliances with other ruling families whose help was needed to consolidate the Gupta power in the newly acquired territory and prepare the ground for fresh conquests. Thus Chandra Gupta II married Kuveranāgā, a princess of Naga lineage,<sup>2</sup> and had by her a daughter named

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar, Ind. Ant., 1918, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Naga-kulapati, cf. JASB, 1824, p. 58.

Prabhāvatī, whom he gave in marriage to Rudrasena II, the Vākāṭaka king of the Central Deccan. According to Dr. Smith<sup>1</sup> "the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja occupied a geographical position in which he could be of much service or disservice to the northern invader of the dominions of the Saka Satraps of Gujarat and Surāṣṭra. Chandra Gupta adopted a prudent precaution in giving his daughter to the Vākāṭaka prince and so securing his subordinate alliance."

The campaign against the western Satraps is apparently alluded to in the Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Virasena-Śāha in the following passage "he (Śāha) came here, accompanied by the king (Chandra Gupta) in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world."<sup>2</sup> Śāha was an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra who held the position, acquired by hereditary descent, of being a Sachiya of Chandra Gupta II and was placed by his sovereign in charge of the Department of Peace and War. He naturally accompanied his master when the great western expedition was undertaken. The campaign against the Śakas was eminently successful. The fall of the Saka Satrap is alluded to by Bāṇa. The annexation of his territory is proved by coins.

**Chief Cities of the Empire**—The original Gupta metropolis seems to have been at Pāṭaliputra. But after his western conquests Chandra Gupta made Ujjain a second capital. Certain chiefs of the Kanarese districts who claimed descent from Chandra Gupta (Vikramāditya), referred to their ancestor as Ujjayini-puravar-ādhīśvara as well as Pāṭali-puravar-ādhīśvara. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar identifies Chandra Gupta with the traditional Vikramāditya Sakāri of Ujjain.<sup>3</sup> The titles Śrī Vikramā,

<sup>1</sup> JRAS, 1914, p. 324.

<sup>2</sup> In literature Vikramāditya is represented as ruling at Pāṭaliputra (Kāshī-mitragāra VII, 4,3;—Vikramāditya ityādīśa Pāṭaliputre) as well as Ujjayini.

Simha-vikramāḥ, Ajita-vikramāḥ, Vikramāṇka and Vikramāditya actually occur on Chandra Gupta's coins.

We have no detailed contemporary account of Ujjayinī (also called Visala, Padmavati, Bhogavati, Hiranyavati)<sup>1</sup> in the days of Chandra Gupta. But Fa-hien who visited India from A.D. 405 to 411 has left an interesting account of Pāṭaliputra. The pilgrim refers to the royal palace of Asoka and halls in the midst of the city, "which exist now as of old," and were according to him all made by spirits which Asoka employed, and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture-work,—in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish. "The inhabitants are rich and prosperous, and vie with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness. Every year on the eighth day of the second month they celebrate a procession of images... The Heads of the Vaiśya families establish houses for dispensing charity and medicines." The principal port of the empire on the east coast was Tamralipti or Tamluk from which ships set sail for Ceylon, Java (then a centre of Brahmanism) and China.

Much light is thrown on the character of Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya's administration by the narrative of Fa-hien and the inscriptions that have hitherto been discovered.

Speaking of the Middle Kingdom (the dominions of Chandra Gupta) the Chinese pilgrim says "the people are numerous and happy : they have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates and their rules ; only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay a portion of the gain from it. If they want to go, they go :

<sup>1</sup> Meghadūta (I, 21) and Kathā-saṅgraha, Tawney's translation, Vol. II, p. 275. For an account of Ujjayinī in the seventh century A.D. see Beal, H. Trans., II, p. 270; and Biddulph, Kādambarī, pp. 210, ff.

if they want to stay on, they stay. The king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily, according to the circumstances of each case. Even in cases of repeated attempts at wicked rebellion they only have their right hands cut off. The king's body-guards and attendants all have salaries. Throughout the whole country the people do not kill any living creature, nor drink intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions or garlic. The only exception is that of the Chandālas. In buying and selling commodities they use cowries" (Legge). The last statement evidently refers to such small transactions as Fa-hien had occasion to make (Allan). The pilgrim does not seem to have met with the gold coins which would only be required for large transactions. That they were actually in currency, we know from the references to donations of dināras and suvarpas in the inscriptions.

That Chandra Gupta was a good monarch may be inferred also from the inscriptions. He was himself a devout Vaishṇava (Parama-bhāgavata). But he appointed men of other sects to high offices. His general Āmrakārdava, the hero of a hundred fights (*anekasamar-āvāpta-vijaya-yasas-patākāḥ*) appears to have been a Buddhist, while his Minister of Peace and War (Sāba-Virasena) and perhaps also his Mantrin, Śikharasvāmin, were Śaivas.

Regarding the machinery of Government we have no detailed information. But the following facts may be gleaned from the inscriptions.

As in Maurya times the head of the state was the Rājā who was apparently nominated by his predecessor. He was assisted by a body of high Ministers whose office was very often hereditary (*cf.* the phrase "anvaya-prāpta Sāchivya"). The most important among the High Ministers were the Mantrin, the Saṁdhi-vigrahika and

the Akshapāṭal-ādhikṛita. Like the Maurya Mantrin, the Gupta Sāṁdhī-vigrahika accompanied the sovereign to the battle-field. As in the case of most of the *Pradhānas* of Śivāji, there was no clear-cut division between civil and military officials. The same person could be Sāṁdhī-vigrahika and Mahā-danḍa-nāyaka, and a Mantrin could become a Mahā-bal-ādhikṛita.

It is not clear whether the Guptas had a central Mantriparishad.<sup>1</sup> But the existence of local parishads (*e.g.*, the Parishad of Udānakūpa) is proved by a Basārh seal discovered by Bloch.

The empire was divided into a number of Provinces (Deśas, Bhuktis, etc.) sub-divided into districts called Pradesas or Vishayas. Among Deśas the Gupta inscriptions mention Sukulideśa. Surashtra, Dābhala (Dāhala or Chedi of later times) and "Kālindi Narmadayor Madhya" are also perhaps to be placed under this category.

Among Bhuktis we have reference to Pundra-vardhana bhukti, Tirabhukti, Nagarabhukti, Śravasti bhukti and Abichchhatra bhukti. Among Pradesas or Vishayas mention is made of Lāṭa-vishaya, Tripuri-vishaya, Arikiṇḍa (called Pradeśa in Samudra Gupta's Eraṇ inscription, and Vishaya in that of Toramāṇa), Antarvedi, Vālavi, Gaya, Kotivarsha, Mahākhushāpāra and Kūṇḍadhbāṇi.

The Deśas were governed by officers called Goptris or Wardens of the Marches (*cf.* Sarveshu Deśeshu vīdhāya Goptrin). The Bhuktis were governed by Uparikas Mahā-rājas who were sometimes princes of the Imperial family (*e.g.*, Raja-putra-deva-bhattāraka, Governor of Puṇḍravar-dhana bhukti mentioned in a Dāmodarpur plate, Govinda Gupta, Governor of Tirabhukti mentioned in the Basārh seals<sup>2</sup> and Ghaṭotkacha Gupta). The office of Vishaya-pati

<sup>1</sup> The Bilād Ins. (GII, 54) refers to a [Pe]rishad. But there is nothing to show that it was a central political assembly.

<sup>2</sup> Govinda Gupta is known also from the newly discovered Mandonor Ins. (ASI, Annual Report, 1922-23; Cslc. Ber. 1926 July, 155) which mentions his Sāṁdhīpā-

or District Officer was held by Imperial officials like the Kumār-āmātya and Āyuktaka, as well as by feudatory Mahārūjas (*c.f.* Matīvishṇu). Some of the Vishaya-patis (*e.g.*, Sarvanāga of Antarvedi) were directly under the Emperor, while others (*e.g.*, those of Koṭivarsha, Arikiṇa and Tripuri) were under provincial governors. The Governors and District Officers were no doubt helped by officials like the Chaur-oddharāṇikas, Dāṇḍikas, Dāṇḍapāśikas and others. Every Vishaya consisted of a number of grāmas or villages which were administered by the Grāmikas, Mahattaras or Bhojakas.

Outside the limits of the Imperial provinces lay the vassal kingdoms and republics mentioned in the Allahabad prasasti and other documents.

The Basīrh seals throw some interesting sidelight on the provincial and municipal government as well as the economic organisation of the province of Tirabhukti. The province was apparently governed by prince Govinda Gupta, a son of the Emperor by the Mahadevi Śri Dhruvavāminī, who had his capital at Vaisālī. The seals mention several officials like the Uparika (Governor), the Kumār-āmātya, the Mahā-pratihāra (the great chamberlain), the Mahā-dāṇḍa-nāyaka (the great general), the Vinaya-sthiti-shapaka (the censor), and the Bhaṭṭavāpati (lord of the army and cavalry), and the following offices, *e.g.*, Yuvarāja-pādiya Kumār-āmāty-ādhikarāṇa (office of the minister of His Highness the Crown Prince, according to Vogel), Rāja-bhāṇḍāgār-ādhikarāṇa (office of the chief treasurer of the war department), Balādhi-karāṇa (office of the chief of the military forces), Dāṇḍapāś-ādhikarāṇa (office of the chief of Police), Tira-bhukty-upārik-ādhikarāṇa (office of the governor of Tirhat), Tirabhuktakā Vinaya-sthiti-sthāpak-ādhikarāṇa

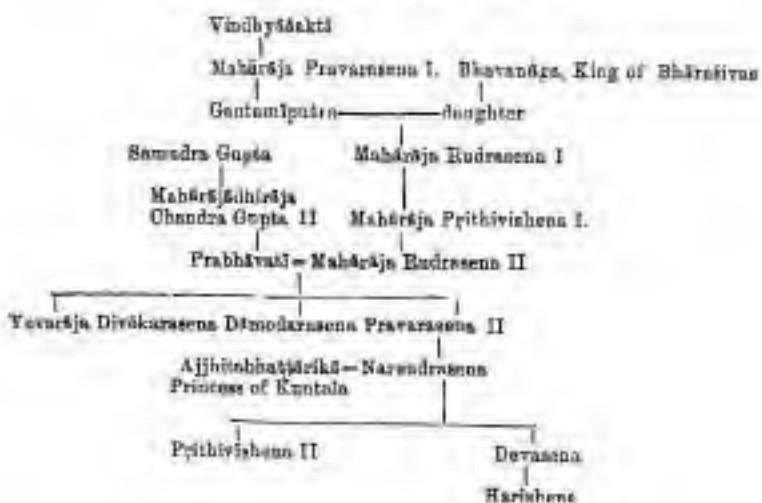
Vāyarakshita, and Vāyu's son Dakshakāṇa, commander-in-chief of the forces of king Prabhūkara, (407-08 A.D.).

(office of the Censor? of Tirhut), Vaisālī-ādhisthan-ādhikarāṇa (office of the governor of Vaisālī), Sri-parama-bhāṭṭākā-pādiya Kumār-āmāty-ādhikarāṇa (office of the minister of the Prince waiting on His Majesty).

The reference to the Parishad of Udānakūpa shows that the Parishad still formed an important element of the Hindu machinery of government. The mention of the corporation of bankers, traders and merchants (*Sreshthi-sārthavāha-kulika-nigama*) is of interest to students of economics.

Chandra Gupta II had at least two queens, Dhruvadevi and Kuveranāgā. The first queen was the mother of Govinda Gupta and Kumāra Gupta I. The second queen was the mother of Prabhāvati who became queen of the Vākatakas and gave birth to Divākarasena, Dāmodara-sena and Pravarasena II. Certain mediæval chiefs of the Kanarese country claimed descent from Chandra Gupta. The origin of these chiefs is probably to be traced to some unrecorded adventures of Vikramāditya in the Deccan.

#### GENEALOGY OF THE VĀKATAKAS.



*11. Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya.*

Chandra Gupta II's successor was Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya<sup>1</sup> whose certain dates range from A.D. 415 to A.D. 455. His extensive coinage, and the wide distribution of his inscriptions show that he was able to retain his father's empire including the western provinces. One of his viceroys, Chirātadatta, governed Pundravardhana Bhukti or north Bengal;<sup>2</sup> another viceroy, prince Ghaṭotkacha Gupta governed the province of Eran which included Tumbavana;<sup>3</sup> a third viceroy or feudatory, Bandhuvarman, governed Daśapura.<sup>4</sup> The Karamadande inscription of A.D. 436 mentions Prithivishena who was a Mantri and Kumār-āmatya, and afterwards Maha-balādhikrita or general under Kumāra Gupta, probably stationed in Oadh.

Like his father Kumāra was a tolerant king. During his rule the worship of Svāmi Mahāsena (Kārttikēya), Buddha, Siva in the liṅga form, and the sun, as well as that of Vishṇu, flourished peacefully side by side.<sup>5</sup>

The two notable events of Kumāra's reign are: the celebration of the horse sacrifice (evidenced by the rare Aśvamedha type of his gold coinage), and the temporary eclipse of the Gupta power by the Pushyamitras. The reading Pushyamitra in the Bhitarī inscription is, however, not accepted by some scholars because the second syllable of this name is damaged.<sup>6</sup> Mr. H. R.

<sup>1</sup> Also called Sri Mahendra, Aśramedha Mahendra, Ajita Mahendra, Śimha Mahendra, Sri Mahendra Śimha, Mahendrakumāra, Śimha Vikramo (Allan, Gupta Coins, p. 80), Vyāghra-bala-purikrama, and Sri Pratīpā.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Dūmodarpur plates of the years 124 and 129.

<sup>3</sup> M. B. Garde, Ind. Ant., 1920, p. 114, Tumain Inscription of the year 116, i.e., A.D. 435.

<sup>4</sup> Mandasor Inscription of A.D. 437-8.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Hilsed, Mankowar, Karamadande, and Mandasor inscriptions.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Fleet CII, p. 55 n.

Divekar in his article "Puṣyamitras in Gupta Period"<sup>1</sup> makes the plausible emendation *Yudhy=amitrāhś=ca* for Dr. Fleet's reading *Puṣyamitṛāḥś=ca* in C.I.I., iii, p. 55. It is admitted on all hands that during the concluding years of Kumāra's reign the Gupta Empire "had been made to totter." Whether the reference in the inscription is simply to Amitras (enemies), or to Pushyamitras, cannot be satisfactorily determined. We should, however, remember in this connection that a people called Pushyamitra is actually referred to in the Vishṇu Purāṇa and probably also in the Jain Kalpasūtra.<sup>2</sup> The fallen fortunes of the Gupta family were restored by prince Skanda Gupta.<sup>3</sup>

Kumāra's chief queen was Anantadevi. He had at least two sons, viz., Pura Gupta, son of Anantadevi, and Skanda Gupta the name of whose mother is not given in the inscriptions. Hiu-n Tsang calls Buddha Gupta (Fo-to-kio-to) or Budha Gupta<sup>4</sup> a son of Sakrāditya. The only predecessor of Budha Gupta who had this title was Kumāra Gupta I who is called Mahendrāditya on coins. Mahendra is the same as Śakra. The use of synonymous terms as names was not unknown in the Gupta period. Vikramāditya was also called Vikramānka. Skanda is called both Vikramāditya and Kramāditya, both the words meaning "sun of power." If Sakrāditya of Hiu-n Tsang be identical with Mahendrāditya or Kumāra I, Budha Gupta was a son of Kumāra. Another son of the latter was apparently Ghatotkacha Gupta.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute.

<sup>2</sup> S.H.B. XXII, 272.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Bhitarī Inscription.

<sup>4</sup> The name Fo-to-kio-to has been restored as Buddha Gupta. But we have no independent evidence regarding the existence of a king named Buddha Gupta about this period. The synchronism of his successor's successor Bihāditya with Mihirakula indicates that the king meant was Budha Gupta, see p. 306, post.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Tummin Inscription referred to by Mr. Garde; also the Basore seal mentioning Sri Ghatotkacha Gupta.

*III. Skanda Gupta Vikramāditya.*

In an interesting paper read before the members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggested that after Kumāra's death there was a fratricidal struggle in which Skanda Gupta came off victorious after defeating his brothers including Pura Gupta, the rightful claimant, and rescued his mother just as Krishṇa rescued Devaki.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Majumdar says that the omission of the name of the mother of Skanda Gupta in the Bihār Stone Pillar and Bhitari Inscriptions indicates that she was not a Mahādevī, and Skanda was not the rightful heir. The rightful heir of Kumāra was Pura Gupta, the son of the Mahādevī Anantadevi.

We should, however, remember that there was no rule prohibiting the mention of non-Mahādevīs in inscriptions. The mother of Prabhāvatī, Kuberanāga, was not Chandra Gupta II's Mahādevī. Nevertheless she is mentioned in the inscriptions of her daughter. On the other hand the names of queens, the mothers of kings, were sometimes omitted.<sup>2</sup> In the *genealogical portion* of the Banskhēra and Madhuban plates the name of Yaśomati as *Harsha's mother* is not mentioned, but in the Sonpat seal she is mentioned both as the mother of Rājyavardhana and as the mother of Harsha. The Pāla inscriptions mention Lajjā, the queen of Vigraha Pāla I and mother of Narayana Pāla, but do not mention the queen of Narayana Pāla who was the mother of Rājya Pāla. They again mention Bhāgyadevi the queen of Rājya Pāla and mother of Gopāla II. In the Bānagarh Inscription of Mahi Pāla I we have a reference to his great-grandmother Bhāgyadevi, but no mention of his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Bhitari Inscription.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the father of a reigning king was also sometimes omitted (*cf.* Kielhorn's N. Ins. Nos. 454, 458).

own mother. The omission of the name of Skanda's mother from inscriptions is, at best, an *argumentum ex silentio* which can only be accepted if it can be proved that the mention of the name of a Mahadevi was compulsory and that the mention of the name of an ordinary queen was prohibited. The case of Kuberanaga shows that there was no rule prohibiting the mention of an ordinary wife of a Gupta king.

As to the question of rightful claim to the succession, we should remember that the cases of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II suggest that the ablest among the princes was chosen irrespective of any claim arising out of birth.

There is nothing to show that the struggle at the end of Kumāra's reign, referred to in the Bhitari inscription, was a fratricidal struggle. The relevant text of the inscription runs thus :—

Pitari divam upētē viplatām vamśa-lakshmiṁ<sup>1</sup>  
bhuja-bala-vijit-ārir-yyah pratishthāpya bhuyah  
jītam-iti paritosbān mātarām sāsra-netrām  
hata-ripur-iva Kṛishṇo Devakim-abhyupetah.

The enemies (ari) who made the Vamśa-lakshmi of Skanda Gupta "vipluta" after the death of his father were apparently enemies of the Gupta family, i.e., outsiders not belonging to the Gupta lineage. As a matter of fact the enemies expressly mentioned in the Bhitari inscription were outsiders, e.g., the Pushyamitras<sup>1</sup> and the Hūṇas. There is not the slightest reference to a fratricidal war. There is no doubt a passage in the Junagadh-inscription of Skanda which says that "the goddess of fortune and splendour of her own accord

<sup>1</sup> Even if the reference be merely to "Āmitras" (see ante, p. 354), these āmitras could not have included an elder brother, as the passage "kshitiyan-charanya-pūlhe śātpita vāma pālāḥ" clearly shows.

selected (Skanda) as her husband.....having discarded all the other sons of kings." But it does not necessarily imply that there was a struggle between the sons of Kumāra in which Skanda came off victorious. It only means that among the princes he was considered to be best fitted to rule. In the Allahabad prasasti we have a similar passage:—"who (Samudra Gupta) being looked at with envy by the fates, melancholy through the rejection of themselves, of others of equal birth.....was hidden by his father,—who exclaiming 'verily he is worthy' embraced him—to govern of a surety the whole world." It may be argued that there is no proof that Skanda was selected by Kumāra. On the contrary he is said to have been selected by Lakshmi of her own accord. This is not surprising in view of the fact that the empire was made to totter at the close of Kumāra's reign, and Skanda owed its restoration to his own prowess. The important thing to remember is that the avowed enemies of Skanda Gupta mentioned in his inscriptions were outsiders like the Pushyamitras, Hūṇas<sup>1</sup> and Mlechchas.<sup>2</sup> The Manujendra-putras of the Junagadh inscription are mentioned only as disappointed princes, not as defeated enemies, like the brothers of Samudra Gupta who were discarded by Chandra Gupta I. We are, therefore, inclined to think that as the tottering Gupta empire was saved from its enemies (e.g., the Pushyamitras) by Skanda Gupta, it was he who was considered to be best fitted to rule. There is no evidence that his brothers disputed his claim and actually fought for the crown. There is nothing to show that Skanda shed his brothers' blood and that the epithet "amalātmā" applied to him in the Bhitari inscription was unjustified.

<sup>1</sup> Bhitari Ins.<sup>2</sup> Junagadh Ins.

Skanda Gupta assumed the titles of Kramāditya and Vikramāditya.<sup>1</sup> From the evidence of coins and inscriptions we know that he ruled from A.D. 455 to 467.

The first achievement of Skanda was the restoration of the Gupta Empire. From an inscriptional passage we learn, that while preparing to restore the fallen fortunes of his family he was reduced to such straits that he had to spend a night sleeping on the bare earth. Line twelve of the Bhitari Inscription tells us that when Kumara Gupta I. had attained the skies, Skanda conquered his enemies by the strength of his arms. From the context it seems that those enemies were the Pushyamitras "who had developed great power and wealth."

The struggle with the Pushyamitras was followed by conflicts with the Hūpas<sup>2</sup> and probably also with the Vākātakas in which the emperor was presumably victorious in the end. The invasion of the Hūpas took place not later than A.D. 458 if we identify them with the Mlechchas of the Junāgadh inscription. The memory of the victory over the Mlechchas is preserved in the story of king Vikramāditya, son of Mahendrāditya of Ujjain in Somadeva's *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*.<sup>3</sup> Central India and Surāshṭra seem to have been the vulnerable parts of the Gupta empire. The Bālāghāṭ plates<sup>4</sup> refer to Narendrasena Vākātaka, son of Skanda Gupta's cousin Pravarasena II, as "Kosalā Mekalā-Mālavādhipaty-abhyarchita sūdana." The Junāgadh inscription tells us "he (Skanda) deliberated for days and nights before

<sup>1</sup> Allan, catalogue, pp. 117, 122; cf. Fleet, CII, p. 53.—

<sup>2</sup> Visvajīha-sūnīta-vyākṛṣṇīcūpa kramāga  
peśadīsām-abhīyogād-jeśom yēna labdhvā.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The Hūpas are mentioned not only in inscriptions, but in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Parāyaṇa*, the *Raghavānīśa* and later in the *Bhāskaracharita* and the *Nītrākyaśāmī* of Baudhāyana. The Lalita Vistara (translated by Dharmaraksha, d. 213) mentions the Hūpalipī (Ind. Ant., 1918, p. 203).

<sup>4</sup> Allan, Gupta Coins, Introduction, p. xliv.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. Ind., IX, p. 271.

making up his mind who could be trusted with the important task of guarding the lands of the Surashtreas." Allan deduces from this and from the words "Sarveshu deśeshu vidhāya goptṛin" that the emperor was at particular pains to appoint a series of Wardens of the Marches to protect his dominions from future invasion. One of these Wardens was Parnadatta, governor of Surashttra. In spite of all his efforts Skanda Gupta could not save the westernmost part of his empire from future troubles. During his lifetime he, no doubt, retained his hold over Surashttra and the adjoining portions of Mālwa. But his successors do not appear to have been so fortunate. Not a single inscription has yet been discovered which shows that Surashttra and western Mālwa formed parts of the Gupta empire after the death of Skanda Gupta. On the contrary Harishena Vākataka, grandson of Narendrasena, claims victories over Lāṭa and Avanti, besides Trikūṭa, Kuntala, Andhra, Kalinga, and Kosala, while the Maitrakas of Valabhi gradually assume independence.

The later years of Skanda seem to have been tranquil.<sup>1</sup> The emperor was helped in the work of administration by a number of able governors like Parnadatta, viceroy of the west, Sarvanāga Vishayapati of Antarvedi or the Doāb, and Bhimavarman, the ruler of the Kosam region. Chakrapālita, son of Parnadatta, restored in A.D. 457-8 the embankment forming the lake Sudarśana which had burst two years previously. The emperor continued the tolerant policy of his fore-fathers. Himself a Vaishpava, he and his officers did not discourage other faiths, e.g., Jainism and solar worship. The people were also tolerant. The Kahāum inscription commemorates the erection of Jaina images by a person "full of affection for Brāhmaṇas." The Indore plate records a deed by a Brāhmaṇa endowing a lamp in a temple of the Sun.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Kahāum Ins.

## THE GUPTA EMPIRE (*continued*) : THE LATER GUPTAS.

### 1. *Survival of the Gupta Power after Skanda Gupta.*

It is now admitted by all scholars that the reign of Skanda Gupta ended about A.D. 467.<sup>1</sup> When he passed away the empire did not wholly perish. We have epigraphic as well as literary evidence of the continuance of the Gupta empire in the later half of the fifth as well as the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. The Dāmodarpur plates, Sārnāth inscriptions<sup>2</sup> and the Eran epigraph of Buddha Gupta prove that from A.D. 477 to 496 the Gupta empire extended from Bengal to Eastern Mālwa. The Betul plates of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Saṅkshobha dated in the year 199 G.E. (Śrīmati pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājye samvatsara-sate nava-navaty-uttare Gupta nrpa rājya-bhuktau), i.e., 518 A.D., testify to the fact that the Gupta sway at this period was acknowledged in Dabhalā, which included the Tripuri Vishaya (Jabbarpur region).<sup>3</sup> Another inscription of Saṅkshobha found in the valley near the village of Khōh in Baghēlkhaṇḍ, dated in A.D. 528, proves that the Gupta empire included the Central Provinces even in A.D. 528.<sup>4</sup> Five years later the grant of a village in the Koṭivarsha Vishaya of Pundra-vardhana-bhukti "during the reign of Parama-daivata Parama-bhāttāraka Mahārajadhirāja Sri .....Gupta,"<sup>5</sup> shows that the Gupta empire at this period included the eastern as well as the central

<sup>1</sup> Smith, the Oxford History of India, additions and corrections, p. 171, seq.

<sup>2</sup> A.S.I. Report, 1914-15.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 254-57.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, O.L.I., III, pp. 113-16.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. Ind., XV, p. 113 ff.

provinces. Towards the close of the sixth century a Gupta king, a contemporary of Prabhākara-vardhana of the Pushpabhūti<sup>1</sup> family of Śrīkānta (Thānēsar), was ruling in Mālava.<sup>2</sup> Two sons of this king, Kumāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupta were appointed to wait upon the princes Rājra-vardhana and Harsha of Thānēsar. From the Aphshad inscription of Ādityasēna we learn that the name of the father of Mādhava Gupta, the associate of Harsha,<sup>3</sup> marked with honour of victory in war over Susthitararman, king of Kāmarūpa, was constantly sung on the banks of the river Lōhitya or Brahmaputra. This indicates that even in A.D. 600 (the time of Prabhākara-vardhana) the sway of the Gupta dynasty extended from Mālava to the Brahmaputra.<sup>4</sup>

In the first half of the seventh century the Gupta power was no doubt overshadowed by that of Harsha. But after the death of the great Kanauj monarch, the Gupta empire was revived by Ādityasēna, son of Mādhava Gupta, who "ruled the whole earth up to the shores of the oceans," performed the Aśvamedha and other great sacrifices and assumed the titles of Parama-bhāṭṭāraka and Mahārajadhirāja.

<sup>1</sup> The correct spelling is probably Pushyabhūti (Ep. Ind. I. 68).

<sup>2</sup> Mālava seems to have been under the direct rule of the Guptas in the sixth and seventh centuries. Magadha was administered by the viceregal family of Varmans (cf. Nagariṇī Hill, Ep. Ind. O.I, 220; also Pāṇavarma mentioned by Bīmen Tāsing). The precise location and extent of the Mālava of the later Guptas cannot be determined. In Ep. Ind. V. 220 the Deyamitraka Anantapīka, a feudatory of Vikramaditya VI, is said to have sublated the Septa Mālava countries up to the Himalaya Mountains. This proves that there were as many as seven countries called Mālava. These were probably: (1) Moisapo (Mālava-kṣetra of Valabhī gana) on the Maṭh governed by the Mātrikas. (2) Avanti (ruled by a Bālāmpī family in the time of Bīmen Tāsing). (3) Pātīra-Mālava (round Bihār). (4) District ruled Prayaga. (5) Pātīra District of C. P. (6) Cīcāna Districts of the Pāñjab. (7) Some Himalayan territory. The Later Guptas probably held (3) and (4).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Boerse in J.R.A.S. 1903, 881.

<sup>4</sup> An allusion to the later Gupta seems to occur in the Kādṛabādī of Bīsa which says that the 'lotus feet of Kāvera, the poet's great-grandfather, were worshipped by many a Gupta.'

*II. Pura Gupta and Narasimha Gupta Būlāditya.*

We shall now proceed to give an account of Skanda Gupta's successors. The immediate successor of Skanda Gupta seems to have been his brother Pura Gupta. The existence of this king was unknown till the discovery of the Bhitari seal of Kumāra Gupta II in 1889, and its publication by Smith and Hoernle.<sup>1</sup> This seal describes Pura Gupta as the son of Kumāra I by the queen Anantadevi, and does not mention Skanda Gupta. The mention of Pura Gupta immediately after Kumāra with the prefix Tat-pād-ānudhyata does not necessarily prove that Pura Gupta was the immediate successor of his father, and a contemporary and rival of his brother or half-brother Skanda Gupta.<sup>2</sup> In the Manahali grant Madanapāla is described as Sri-Rāmapāla-Deva-pād-ānudhyata, although he was preceded by his elder brother Kumārapāla. In Kielhorn's Northern Inscription, No. 39, Vijayapāla is described as the successor of Kshitipāla, although he was preceded by his brother Devapāla (Ins. No. 31). Dr. Smith has shown that Skanda ruled over the whole empire including the eastern and the central as well as the western provinces. There was no room for a rival Mahārājādhīrāja in Northern India during his reign. He was a man of mature years at the time of his death

JRSE, 1889, pp. 84-105.

The omission of Skanda's name in the Bhitari seal of his brother's grandson does not necessarily imply that the relations between him and Pura's family were unfriendly. The name of Pulakesin II is omitted in an inscription of his brother and Regent Vishnuvardhana (Sātāra grām, Ind. Ant. 1890, p. 277). The name of Shōja II of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty is not mentioned in the Partabgarh inscription of his nephew Mahendrapāla II, but it is mentioned in an inscription of his brother Vīshyakapāla, the father of Mahendrapāla. Besides, there was no custom prohibiting the mention of the name of a rival uncle or brother. Mangaleśa and Gorinda II are mentioned in the inscriptions of their rivals and their descendants. On the other hand even an ancestor of a reigning king was sometimes omitted, e.g., Rudrasena II is omitted in one Ajayā inscription, Dhārapāta is omitted in his son's inscription (Kielhorn, N. Ins. No. 464).

cir. A.D. 467. His brother and successor Pura Gupta, too, must have been an old man at that time. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that he had a very short reign and died sometime before A.D. 473 when his grandson Kumāra Gupta II was ruling. Pura Gupta's queen was Sri Vatsadevi, the mother of Narasimha Gupta Balaśitya.

The coins of Pura Gupta have the reverse legend Sri Vikramab. Allan identifies him with king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā, father of Balaśitya, who was a patron of Buddhism through the influence of Vasubandhu. The importance of this identification lies in the fact that it proves that the immediate successors of Skanda Gupta had a capital at Ayodhyā probably till the rise of the Maukharis. If the spurious Gaya plate is to be believed Ayodhyā was the seat of a Gupta Jaya-skandhāvāra as early as the time of Samudra Gupta.

The principal capital of Balaśitya and his successors appears to have been Kasi.<sup>2</sup> The evidence of the Bharsar hoard seems to suggest that a king styled Prakāśaditya came shortly after Skanda Gupta. Prakāśaditya may have been a biruda of Pura Gupta Sri Vikrama, or of his grandson Kumāra Kramāditya, preferably the latter as the letters *Ku* seem to occur on Prakāśaditya's coins. That the same king might have two "Aditya" names is proved by the cases of Skanda Gupta (Vikramāditya and Kramāditya) and Silāditya Dharmāditya of Valabhi.

Pura Gupta was succeeded by his son Narasimha Gupta Balaśitya. This king has been identified with king Balaśitya who is represented by Hiuen Tsang as having overthrown the tyrant Mihirakula. It has been overlooked that Hiuen Tsang's Balaśitya was the immediate successor of Tathāgata Gupta<sup>3</sup> who was himself the

OII, 285.

<sup>2</sup> Life of Hiuen Tsang, v. III. Si-yen-ki, II, p. 168.

immediate successor of Budha Gupta<sup>1</sup> whereas Narasimha Gupta Bālīditya was the son and successor of Purā Gupta who in his turn was the son of Kumāra Gupta I and the successor of Skandā Gupta. The son and successor of Hi-en Tsing's Bālīditya was Vajra<sup>2</sup> while the son and successor of Narasimha was Kumāra Gupta II. It is obvious that the conqueror of Mihirakula was not the son of Purā Gupta but an altogether different individual.<sup>3</sup> The existence of several kings of the Madhyadeśa having the *Bīruda* Bālīditya is proved by the Sarnath Inscription of Prakalāditya.<sup>4</sup> Narasimha Gupta must have died in or about the year A.D. 473. He was succeeded by his son Kumāra Gupta II Kramāditya by queen Maha-lakshmi-dēvi.

### *III. Kumāra Gupta II.*

Kumāra Gupta II has been identified with the king of that name mentioned in the Sarnath Buddhist Image inscription of the year 154 G.E., i.e., A.D. 473-74. Messrs. Bhattachāri and R. G. Basāk think that the two Kumāra Guptas were not identical. The former places Kumāra, son of Narasimha, long after A.D. 500.<sup>5</sup> But his theory is based upon the wrong identification of Narasimha with the conqueror of Mihirakula. According to Mr. Basāk Kumāra of the Sarnath Inscription was the immediate successor of Skanda. In his opinion there were two rival Gupta lines ruling simultaneously, one

<sup>1</sup> Fo-to-kia-to, Beal, Fleet and Watters render the term by Budha Gupta, a name unknown to Gupta epigraphy. The synchronism of his grandson Bālīditya with Mihirakula proves that Budha Gupta is meant, see p. 396, post.

<sup>2</sup> Yuan Ch'üan, II, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Bhattachāri who upholds the identification of Hi-en Tsing's Bālīditya with the son of Purā Gupta not only ignores the evidence of the *Life of Hi-en Tsing* p. iii, but makes the astounding suggestion that Vajra was a family name.

<sup>4</sup> C.I.I., p. 285.

<sup>5</sup> Dates Review, May and June, 1920, pp. 54-57.

consisting of Skanda, Kumāra of Sārnāth and Budha, the other consisting of Pura, Narasimha and his son Kumāra of the Bhitarī seal. But there is not the slightest evidence of the disruption of the Gupta empire in the latter half of the fifth century A.D. On the contrary inscriptions prove that both Skanda and Budha ruled over the whole empire from Bengal to Western India. There is thus no cogent reason for doubting the identity of Kumāra of the Bhitarī seal with his namesake of the Sārnāth inscription.

Kumāra II's reign must have terminated in or about the year A.D. 476-77, the first known date of Budha Gupta. The reigns of Pura, Narasimha and Kumāra II appear to be abnormally short, amounting together to only ten years (A.D. 467-77). This is by no means a unique case. In Veṅgi three Eastern Chalukya Monarchs, viz., Vijayāditya IV, his son Ammarāja I, and Ammarāja's son, another Vijayāditya, ruled only for seven years and six and a half months.<sup>1</sup> In Kāśmīra five kings Suravarman I, Partha, Samkaravardhana, Unmattavanti and Sora-varman II, ruled within six years (A.D. 933-939); and three generations of kings, viz., Yaśiskara, his uncle Varṇata, and his son Samgrāma-deva ruled for ten years (A.D. 939-949).

#### *IV. Budha Gupta.*

For Budha Gupta, the successor of Kumāra II, we have a number of dated inscriptions and coins which prove that he ruled for about twenty years (A.D. 477-96). We learn from Huien Tsang that he was a son of Sakrāditya. The only predecessor of Budha Gupta who had that title was Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya (Mahendra = Sakra). It seems probable that Budha was the youngest

<sup>1</sup> *Hultzsch* 3, 1, 1, Vol. 1, p. 45.

son of Kumāra I, and consequently a brother or half-brother of Skanda and Pura. Fleet correctly points out that the name of Sakraditya's son as given by Hien Tsang is Fo-to-kio-to, i.e., Buddha Gupta and not Budha Gupta. Similarly Watters points out that Punna-fa-tan-na of the pilgrim is equivalent to Panya-vardhana and not Pundra-vardhana. But just as there is no proof of the existence of a place called Panya-vardhana apart from the well-known Pundra-vardhana, so there is no proof of the existence of a Gupta king name Buddha apart from the well-known Budha Gupta. The synchronism of Fo-to-kio-to's grandson BALAditya with Mihirakula proves that Budha Gupta is meant. If Fo-to-kio-to is identified with Budha Gupta, and his father Sakraditya with Mahendraditya (Kumāra Gupta I), we understand why Fa Hien, who visited India in the time of Chandra Gupta II, father of Kumāra Gupta I Mahendraditya, is silent about the buildings at Nālanda constructed by Sakraditya and Budha Gupta about which Hiuen Tsang (7th century A.D.) speaks so much.

Two copper-plate inscriptions discovered in the village of Dāmodarpur in the district of Dinajpur testify to the fact that Budha Gupta's empire included Pundravardhana bhukti (North Bengal) which was governed by his viceroys (Uparika Mahārāja) Brahmadatta and Jayadatta. The Sarnath inscription of A.D. 476-77 proves his possession of the Kāsi country. In A.D. 484-85 the erection of a Dhvaja-stambha by the Mahārāja Mātri-vishṇu, ruler of Eraṇ, and his brother Dhanyavishṇu while Budha Gupta was reigning, and Suraśmichandra was governing the land between the Kalindi and the Narmadā, indicates that Budha Gupta's dominions included Central India as well as Kāsi and Bengal. The coins of this emperor are dated in the year A.D. 495-6. They continue the types of the Gupta silver coinage;

their legend is the claim to be lord of the earth and to have won heaven,—found on the coins of Kumāra I, and Skanda.

*V. Successors of Budha Gupta.*

According to the Life of Hiuen Tsang Budha Gupta was succeeded by Tathagata Gupta, after whom Baladitya succeeded to the empire.<sup>1</sup> At this period the supremacy of the Guptas in Central India was challenged by the Hun king Toramāṇa. We have seen that in A. D. 484-85 a Mahārāja named Matrīvishṇu ruled in the Arikiṇa Vishaya (Eran) as a vassal of the emperor Budha Gupta, but after his death his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu acknowledged the supremacy of Toramāṇa. The success of the Huns in Central India was however short-lived. In 510-11 we find a general name Goparāja fighting by the side of a Gupta king at Eran and king Hastin of the neighbouring province of Dabhāla acknowledging the sovereignty of the Guptas. In 518 the suzerainty of the Guptas is acknowledged in the Tripuri vishaya. In the year 528-29 the Gupta sway was still acknowledged by the Parivrajaka Mahārāja of Dabhāla. The Parivrajakas Hastin and Samkshōbha seem to have been the bulwarks of the Gupta empire in the Central Provinces. The Harsha Charita of Bāṇa recognises the possession of Mālava by the Guptas as late as the time of Prabhākara-vardhana (A.D. 600). There can be no doubt that the expulsion of the Huns from Central India was final. The recovery of the Central Provinces was probably effected by Baladitya who is represented by Hiuen Tsang as having overthrown Mihirakula, the son and successor of Toramāṇa, and left him the ruler of a "small kingdom in the north."<sup>2</sup> It is not improbable that Baladitya was

<sup>1</sup> Beal, Si-yu-ki, II, p. 188; the life, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Si-yu-ki, I, p. 171.

a *Biruda* of the "glorious Shānu Gupta, the bravest man on the earth, a mighty king, equal to Partha" along with whom Goparāja went to Erāp and having fought a "very famous battle" died shortly before A. D. 510-11.

Mihirakula was finally subjugated by the *Janendra Yasodharman* of Mandasor shortly before A.D. 533. Line 6 of the Mandasor Stone Pillar inscription<sup>1</sup> leaves the impression that in the time of Yasodharman Mihirakula was the king of a Himlayan country ("small kingdom in the north"), i.e., Kashmir and that neighbourhood, who was compelled "to pay respect to the two feet" of the victorious Janendra probably when the latter carried his arms to "the mountain of snow the table lands of which are embraced by the Gaṅgā."

Yasodharman claims to have extended his sway as far as the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra in the east. It is not improbable that he defeated and killed Vajra the son and successor of Bāliātya, and extinguished the viceregal family of the Dattas of Pundravardhana. Huien Tsung mentions a king of Central India as the successor of Vajra. The Dattas who governed Pundravardhana from the time of Kumāra Gupta I disappear about this time. But Yasodharman's success must have been short-lived, because in A.D. 543-34, the very year of the Mandasor inscription which mentions the Janendra Yasodharman as victorious, the son and viceroy of a Gupta Parama-bhattāraka Mahārājādhīraja Prithivipati, and not any official of the Central Indian Janendra, was governing the Pundravardhana-bhukti, a province which lay between the Indian interior and the Lauhitya.

#### *VI. The line of Krishna Gupta.*

The name of the Gupta emperor in the Dāmodarpur plate of A.D. 533-34 is unfortunately lost. The Apsad

<sup>1</sup> C. L. L., pp. 148-147; Jayawal, The Historical Position of Kākī, p. 9.

inscription, however, discloses the names of a number of Gupta kings the fourth of whom Kumāra Gupta (III) was a contemporary of Isānavarman Maukhari who is known from the Haraha inscription to have been ruling in A.D. 554.<sup>1</sup> Kumāra Gupta III, and his three predecessors, viz., Krishna, Harsha and Jivita should probably be placed in the period between A.D. 510, the date of Bhānu Gupta, and 554 the date of Isānavarman. It is probable that one of these kings is identical with the Gupta emperor mentioned in the Dāmodarpur plate of 533-34.<sup>2</sup> The absence of high sounding titles like Mahārājādhīraja or Parama-bhāttāraka in the Slokas of the Aphysad inscription does not necessarily prove that the kings mentioned there were petty chiefs. No such titles are attached to the name of Kumāra I in the Mandasor inscription, or to the name of Budha in the Eraś inscription. On the other hand the queen of Mañdhava Gupta, one of the kings mentioned in the Aphysad inscription, is called Parama-bhāttārakā and Mahadevi in the Dēv Barānārk epigraph.

Regarding Krishna Gupta we know very little. The Aphysad inscription describes him as a hero whose arm played the part of a lion, in bruising the foreheads of the array of the rutting elephants of (his) haughty enemy (*dṛiptārati*) (and) in being victorious by (its) prowess over countless foes. The *dṛiptārati* against whom he had to fight may have been Yasodharman. The next king Harsha had to engage in terrible contests with those who were "averse to the abode of the goddess of fortune being with (him, her) own lord." There were wounds from many weapons on his chest. The names of the enemies who tried to deprive him of his rightful possessions are

<sup>1</sup> B. Sastri, Ep. Ind., XIV, pp. 110 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. V. B. Gupte (Ind. Hist. Journal) reads the name of Kremra in the inscription of A.D. 533-34, but he identifies him with the son of Narasimha Gupta.

not given. Harsha's son Jivita Gupta I probably succeeded in re-establishing the power of his family. "The very terrible scorching fever (of fear) left not (his) haughty foes, even though they stood on seaside shores that were cool with the flowing and ebbing currents of water, (and) were covered with the branches of plantain-trees severed by the trunks of elephants roaming through the lofty groves of palmyra palms; (or) even though they stood on (that) mountain (Himālaya) which is cold with the water of the rushing and waving torrents full of snow." The "haughty foes" on seaside shores were probably the Gaudas who had already launched into a career of con quest about this time and who are described as living on the sea shore (*samudrasraya*) in the Haraha inscription of A.D. 554.<sup>1</sup>

The next king, Kumara Gupta III, had to encounter a sea of troubles. The Gaudas were issuing from their "proper realm" which was western Bengal as it bordered on the sea and included Karnasuvarṇa<sup>2</sup> and Radhāpuri.<sup>3</sup> The lord of the Andhras who had thousands of three-fold rutting elephants, and the Sūlikas who had an army of countless galloping horses, were powers to be reckoned with. The Andhra king was probably Mādhavavarman II of the Vishṇukundin family who "crossed the river Godāvāri with the desire to conquer the eastern region."<sup>4</sup> The Sūlikas were probably the Chalukyas.<sup>5</sup> In the Mahakuta pillar inscription the name appears as Chalikya. In the Gujarat records we find the forms Solaki and Solaṇki. Sūlika may be another dialectic variant. The Mahakuta pillar inscription tells us that in the sixth century A.D. Kirtivarman I of the "Chalikya" dynasty

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 110 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> M. Chakravarti, J. A. S. S., 1908, p. 274.

<sup>3</sup> Prahoḍha-chandrodaya, Act II.

<sup>4</sup> Duhreal, A.H.D., p. 92.

<sup>5</sup> In the Śāṅkha-Saṁhitā XIV, 5 the Sūlikas are associated with Vidarbha.

gained victories over the kings of Vanga, Anga, Magadha, etc.

A new power was rising in the upper Ganges valley which was destined to engage in a death grapple with the Guptas for the mastery of northern India. This was the Mukhara or Maukhari<sup>1</sup> power. The Maukharis claimed descent from the hundred sons whom king Asvapati got from Vaivasvata, i.e., Yama (not Manu). The family consisted of two distinct groups. The stone inscriptions of one group have been discovered in the Jaunpur and Bārā Banki districts of the United Provinces, while the stone inscriptions of the other group have been discovered in the Gaya district of Bihar. The Maukharis of Gaya namely Yajñavarman, Sārdūlavarman and Anantavarman were a feudatory family. Sārdūla is expressly called sāmantachūḍāmaṇī in the Barabar Hill Cave Inscription of his son.<sup>2</sup> The Maukharis of the United Provinces were also probably feudatories at first. The earliest princes of this family, viz., Harivarman, Ādityavarman, and Iṣvaravarman were simply Mahārājas. Ādityavarman's wife was Harsha Gupta, probably a sister of king Harsha Gupta. The wife of his son and successor Iṣvaravarman was also probably a Gupta princess named Upa-Gupta. In the Harahā inscription Isanavarman, son of Iṣvaravarman and Upa-Gupta, claims victories over the Andhras,<sup>3</sup> the Sulikas and the Gaudas and is the first to assume the Imperial title of Mahārājādhiraṇa. It was this which probably brought him into conflict with king Kumāra Gupta III. Thus began a duel between

<sup>1</sup> The family was called both Maukhara and Maukhari. "Sous Surya-varmāvivek Pashpabbhūti Maukhara Vaśīta," "Sakalabhravānamānakṛito Maukhari Vaśītā" (Barabudharatna, Parab's ed., pp. 141, 146). Cf. also C.I.I., p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.I., p. 228.

<sup>3</sup> The victory over the Andhras is also alluded to in the Jaunpur stone inscription (C.I.I., p. 280) which also seems to refer to a conflict with Dhāra, the capital of western Malava (?)

the Maukhari and the Guptas which ended only when the latter with the help of the Gaudas wiped out the Maukharis in the time of Grabavarmaṇ, brother-in-law of Harshavardhana.

We have seen that Isānavarman's mother and grandmother were Gupta princesses. The mother of Prabhākara-vardhana, the other empire-builder of the second half of the sixth century, was also a Gupta princess. It seems that the Gupta marriages in this period were as efficacious in stimulating imperial ambition<sup>1</sup> as the Licchhavī marriages of more ancient times.

Kumāra Gupta III claims to have "churned that formidable milk-ocean, the cause of the attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious Isānavarman, a very moon among kings."<sup>2</sup> This was not an empty boast, for the Maukharis records do not claim any victory over the Guptas. Kumāra Gupta III's funeral rites took place at Prayāga which probably formed a part of his dominions.

The son and successor of this king was Damodara Gupta. He continued the struggle with the Maukhari<sup>3</sup> and fell fighting against them. "Breaking up the proudly-stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukharis, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Borsig, J.R.A.S., 1903 p. 567.

<sup>2</sup> Aphrodite Ins.

<sup>3</sup> The Maukharī opponent of Damodara Gupta was either Śivayavarmaṇ or Garvavarmaṇ (both being sons of Isānavarman). A Śivayavarmaṇ is described in the Sāpur stone inscription of Mahāsiva Gupta as "born in the unblemished family of the Varmanas great on account of their Adhipatiya (supremacy) over Magadha." If this Śivayavarmaṇ be identical with Śivayavarmaṇ, the son of Isānavarman, then it is certain that for a time the supremacy of Magadha passed from the hands of the Guptas to that of the Maukhari. The Deo-Berāṅgārik Inscription (Shahbad District) of Jivita Gupta II also suggests (CII, pp. 216-218) that the Maukhari Garvavarmaṇ and Arantivarmaṇ held a considerable part of Magadha some time after Bālādityadeva. After the loss of Magadha the later Guptas were apparently confined to "Mālava," till Mahāsiva Gupta once more pushed his conquests as far as the Laxhitīya.

of the Hunas (in order to trample them to death), he became unconscious (and expired in the fight)."

Dāmodara Gupta was succeeded by his son **Mahāseṇa Gupta**. He is probably the king of Mālava mentioned in the Harshacharita whose sons Kūmāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupta were appointed to wait upon Rājya-vardhana and Harsha-vardhana by their father king Prabhākara-vardhana of the Pushpabhatti family of Srikaptha (Thānēsar). The intimate relations between the family of Mahāseṇa Gupta and that of Prabhākara-vardhana is proved by the Madhuban grant and the Sonpat copper seal inscription of Harsha which represent Mahāseṇa Gupta Devī as the mother of Prabhākara, and the Aphysad inscription of Ādityasēna which alludes to the association of Mādhava Gupta, son of Mahāseṇa Gupta with Harsha.

The Pushpabhatti alliance of Mahāseṇa Gupta was probably due to his fear of the rising power of the Maukhariṣ. The policy was eminently successful, and during his reign we do not hear of any struggle with that family. But a new danger threatened from the east. A strong monarchy was at this time established in Kamarupa by a line of princes who claimed descent from Bhagadatta. King Susthitavarman<sup>1</sup> of this family came into conflict with Mahāseṇa Gupta and was defeated. "The mighty fame of Mahāseṇa Gupta," says the Aphysad inscription, "marked with honour of victory in war over the illustrious Susthitavarman.....is still constantly sung on the banks of the river Lohitya."<sup>2</sup>

Between Mahāseṇa Gupta, the contemporary of Prabhākara-vardhana, and his youngest son Mādhava Gupta, the contemporary of Harsha, we have to place a king named **Deva Gupta II**<sup>3</sup> who is mentioned by name in

<sup>1</sup> See the Nishanapuri plates.

<sup>2</sup> The Emperor Chāndra Gupta II was Deva Gupta I.

the Madhaban and Banskhera inscriptions of Harsha as the most prominent among the kings "who resembled wicked horses" who were all subdued by Rajya-vardhana. As the Gupta princes are uniformly connected with Mālava in the *Harshacharita* there can be no doubt that the wicked Deva Gupta is identical with the wicked Lord of Mālava who cut off Grahavarman Maukhari, and who was himself defeated "with ridiculous ease" by Rajya-vardhana. It is difficult to determine the position of Deva Gupta in the dynastic list of the Guptas. He may have been the eldest son of Mahāsena Gupta, and an elder brother of Kumāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupta.<sup>1</sup> His name is omitted in the *Aphīṣṭa* list, just as the name of Skanda Gupta is omitted in the *Bhitari* list.

Shortly before his death king Prabhākara-vardhana had given his daughter Rajyasri in marriage to Grahavarman the eldest son of the Maukhari king Avantivarman. The alliance of the Pushpabhatis with the sworn enemies of his family must have alienated Deva Gupta who formed a counter-alliance with the Gaudas whose hostility towards the Maukharis dated from the reign of Isānavarman. The Gupta king and the Gauda king, Śāsanka, made a joint attack on the Maukhari kingdom. "Grahavarman was by the wicked lord of Mālava cut off from the living along with his noble deeds. Rajyasri also, the princess, was confined like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron letters kissing her feet and cast into prison at Kanyakubja." "The villain, deeming the army leaderless purposes to invade and seize this country as well."<sup>2</sup> Rajya-vardhana, though he routed the Mālava army "with ridiculous ease," was "allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the king of Gauda, and then weaponless, confiding and alone despatched in his own quarters."

<sup>1</sup> Boenigk, JRAS, 1903, p. 562.

<sup>2</sup> *Harshacharita*.

To meet the formidable league between the Guptas and the Gaudas, Harsha, the successor of Rājya-vardhana, concluded an alliance with Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, whose father Susthitavarman had fought against the predecessor of Deva Gupta. This alliance was disastrous for the Gaudas as we know from the Nidhanapur plate of Bhāskara. At the time of the issuing of the plate Bhāskaravarman was in possession of Kargasuvarṇa, the capital of the Gauḍa king, Śāsāṅka. The Gauḍa people, however, did not tamely acquiesce in the loss of their independence. They became a thorn in the side of Kanauj and Kāmarūpa, and their hostility towards those two powers was inherited by the Pala and Sēna successors of Śāsāṅka.

During the long reign of Harsha, Mādhava Gupta, the successor of Deva Gupta, remained a subordinate ally of Kanauj. After Harsha's death the Gupta empire was revived by Ādityasena, a prince of remarkable vigour and ability who found his opportunity in the commotion which followed the usurpation of Harsha's throne by Arjuna. For this king we have a number of inscriptions which prove that he ruled over a wide territory extending to the shores of the oceans. The Aphysad, Shahpur, and Mandār inscriptions recognise his undisputed possession of south and east Bihār. Another inscription, noticed by Fleet<sup>1</sup> describes him as the ruler of the whole earth up to the shores of the oceans, and the performer of the Aśvamedha and the other great sacrifices. The then Maukhari chief, Bhogavarman, accepted the hands of his daughter and presumably became his subordinate ally.<sup>2</sup> The Dēo-Baranārk inscription refers to the Jayaskandhāvāra of his great-grandson Jivita Gupta II at Gomatikottaka. This clearly suggests that the Later Guptas and not the

<sup>1</sup> C.I.I., p. 218 n.

<sup>2</sup> Krishnac., I.N.I. 561.

Maukharis, dominated the Gomati valley in the Madhyadeśa. The Mandāra inscription applies to Ādityasena the titles of Parṣmabhattāraka and Mahārājādhīraja. We learn from the Shahpur stone image inscription that he was ruling in the year A.D. 672-73. It is not improbable that he or his son Deva Gupta III is the Sakal-ottarāpatha-nātha who was defeated by the Chalukya kings Vinayāditya (A.D. 680-696) and Vijayāditya.<sup>1</sup>

We learn from the Deō-Barapārk inscription that Ādityasena was succeeded by his son Deva Gupta (III) who in his turn was succeeded by his son Vishnu Gupta who is probably identical with Visnū Gupta Chandrāditya of the coins.<sup>2</sup> The last king was Jivita Gupta II, son of Visnū. All these kings continued to assume imperial titles. That these were not empty forms appears from the records of the Western Chalukyas of Vāṭāpi which testify to the existence of a Pan-North Indian empire in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. The only North Indian sovereigns (Uttarāpatha-nātha), who laid claim to the imperial dignity during this period, and actually dominated Magadha and the Madhyadeśa as is proved by the Aphaś and Deō-Barapārk inscriptions, were Ādityasena and his successors.

The Gupta empire was probably finally destroyed by the Gaudas who could never forgive Mādhava Gupta's desertion of their cause. In the time of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, i.e., in the first half of the eighth century A.D., a Gauda king occupied the throne of Magadha.<sup>3</sup>

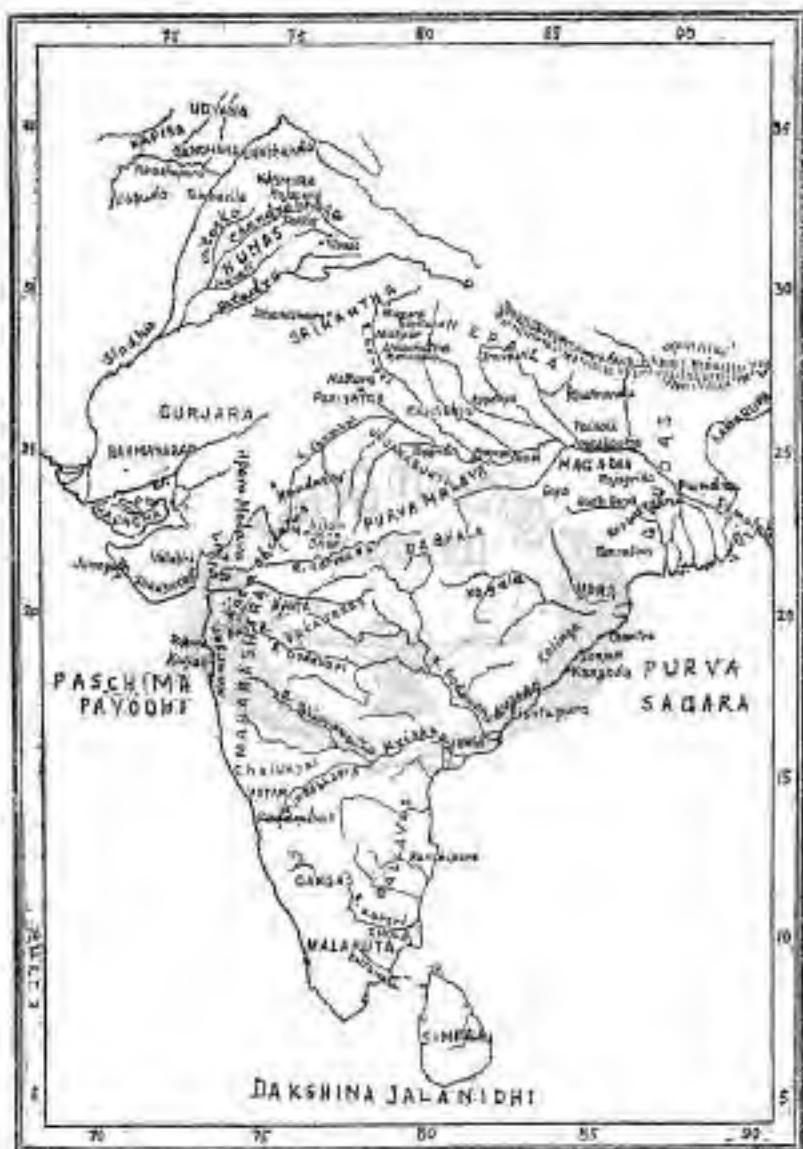
Petty Gupta dynasties, apparently connected with the imperial line, ruled in the Kanarese districts during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries A.D., and are frequently mentioned in inscriptions. Evidence of an

<sup>1</sup> Bomb, Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 188, 368, 371; and Kondur plates.

<sup>2</sup> Alaud, Gupta Coins, p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Gaṇḍavāko by Vākpatīraja. Banerji confounds the Gaudas with the later Guptas, but cf. the Harshī Ins.

## INDIA IN THE AGE OF THE LATER GUPTAS.



Specially prepared for Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India.

earlier connection of the Guptas with the Kanarese country is furnished by the Tālagund inscription which says that Kākustha-varman of the Kadamba dynasty gave his daughters in marriage to the Guptas and other kings. In the sixth century A.D. the Vākātaka king Harishena, a descendant of Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya through his daughter Prabhāvati Gupta, is said to have effected conquests in Kuntala, i.e., the Kanarese country.<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough the Gutta or Gupta chiefs of the Kanarese country claimed descent from Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya,<sup>2</sup> lord of Ujjayinī.<sup>3</sup>



<sup>1</sup> Jónvan-Dubroni, A.H.O., p. 73.

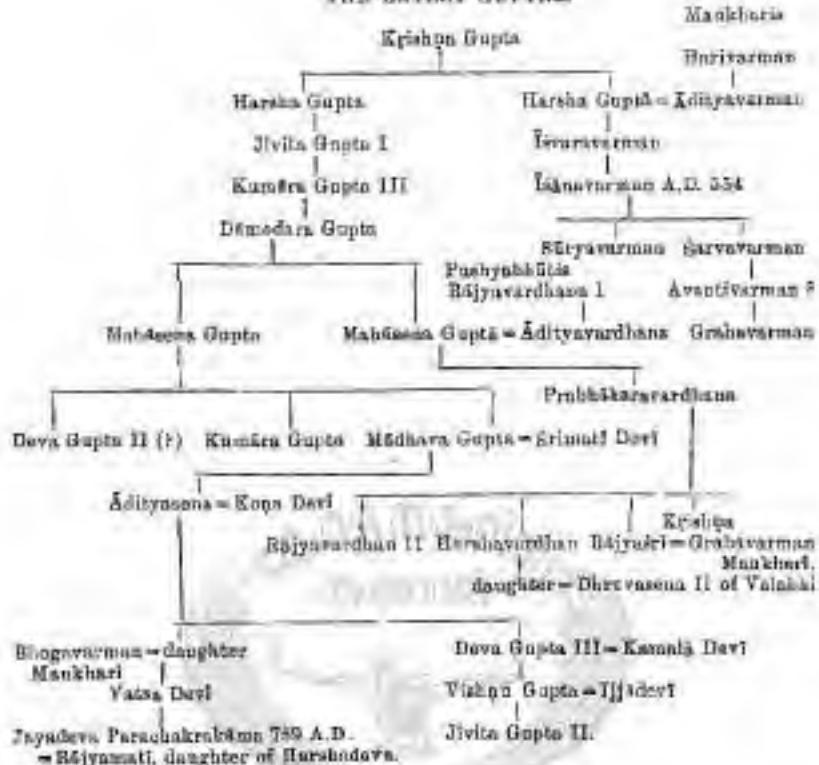
<sup>2</sup> Bamb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 578-80. See H. O. Bhadeshkar "A Peep into the Early History of India," p. 60. I owe this reference to Prof. Bhadeshkar.

<sup>3</sup> The account of the later Guptas was first published in the J.A.S.B., 1920, No. 7.

## THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS.



THE LATEST GUPTAS.



## APPENDIX A.

Page 2, l. 14.—The remarkable discoveries at Mahen-jo-Daro and Harappa have no doubt supplemented the purely literary evidence regarding the ancient history of India. But the civilisation disclosed is that of Saurashtra or Sovira (Sophir, Ophir?) in the pre-Pālikshita period. And the monuments exhumed offer little direct contribution to the materials for political history, particularly of the Madhyadeśa.

Page 3, l. 14.—The present Rāmāyaṇa consists of 24000 Ślokas (l. 4, 2—Chaturvimbā sahaśrāṇi ślokānām uktavān rishi). But even in the first or second century A.D. the epic seems to have contained only 12,000 Ślokas (J.R.A.S. 1907, p. 99 ff.), as the evidence of the Buddhist Mahāvibhāṣā suggests.

Page 4, l. 31 ff.—In a recent work Dr. Keith shows excessive scepticism about the historical value of the epics and the Purāṇas, and wonders at the naïve simplicity of those who believe in the historicity of any event not explicitly mentioned in the Vedas, e.g., the Bhāratā War. It cannot be denied that the epics and Purāṇas, in their present shape, contain a good deal of what is untrustworthy; but it has been rightly said that "it is absurd to suppose that fiction completely ousted the truth." The epigraphic or numismatic records of the Sātavāhanas, Abhiras, Vākāṭakas, Nāgas, Guptas and many other dynasties fully bear out the observation of Dr. Smith that "Modern European writers have been inclined to disparage unduly the authority of the Purāṇic lists, but closer study finds in them much genuine and valuable historical tradition." As to the Bhāratā War we have indeed no epigraphic corroboration, because contemporary inscriptions are lacking. But as stated in the text (ante p. 20

(including footnote) Vedic literature contains many hints that the story of the great conflict is not wholly fictitious. Many of the principal figures in the Karukshetra story (e.g., Dhṛitarāshṭra Vaichitravīya and Kṛishṇa Devakīputra) are mentioned in some of the earliest Vedic texts, and battle songs describing the internecine strife among the Bhāratas and the tragic fate of Dhṛitarāshṭra's progeny must have been current at least as early as the fifth century B.C., because Vaiśampāyana and his version of the Mahābhārata are well known to Āśvalāyana and Pāṇini. If the Bhārata War took place in the 9th century B.C. (see ante pp. 1, 17), tradition about the conflict dating from a period not later than the fifth century B.C. cannot be dismissed as *wholly unworthy of credence*.

Pargiter, on the other hand, is inclined to give more weight to Purāṇic tradition than to Vedic evidence, and his conclusions have apparently been accepted by Dr. Barnett (*Calcutta Review*, Feb., 1924, p. 249). It has recently been urged by the former (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 9 ff.) that Vedic literature "lacks the historical sense" and "is not always to be trusted." But do the Purāṇas which represent Śākya as one individual, include Siddhārtha in the list of kings, place Prasenajit the immediate lineal successor of Rāhula, place Pradyota several generations before Bimbisāra, dismiss Aśoka with one sentence, and represent Śri Śatakrūi as the son of Krishna, possess the historical sense in a remarkable degree, and are "always to be trusted"? Pargiter himself, not unfeeling, rejects Epic and Purāṇic evidence (cf. *A.I.H.T.*, pp. 173 n 1; 299 n. 7) when it is opposed to certain theories. In this connection it will not be quite out of place to quote the following observations of Mr. V Gordon Childe (*The Aryans*, p. 32):—“The

Kṣatriya tradition (*i.e.*, Epic and Purānic tradition) .... is hardly an unpoluted source of history. The orthodox view is not really based on the priestly tradition, as embodied in aperegilical works, but rather on the internal evidence of the Veda itself. The latter carries conviction precisely because the historical and geographical references in the hymns are introduced only incidentally and in a thoroughly ingenuous manner... The same cannot be said of Kṣatriya tradition, which in its recorded form dates from an age (perhaps as late as 200 A.D.) when myth-making had had many centuries to work in, and which might serve dynastic ends." Priority of date and comparative freedom from textual corruption are two strong points in favour of Vedic literature.

Page 68, l. 23.—For the Hindu colonisation of Champā see Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III, p. 137 ff. The oldest Sanskrit inscription (that of Vo-can) dates from the third century A.D. The inscription mentions a Buddhist King of the family of Śrimān rāja.

Page 68, l. 28.—For the origin of the Āngas and other kindred tribes, see S. Lévi, "Pré-Aryen et Pré-Dravidien dans l'Inde," J.A., juillet-septembre, 1923.

Page 694.—Several scholars reject the identification of Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa of the Mahābhārata with the historical Kṛishṇa of the Chāndogya Upanishad (iii. 17). But we should remember that—

- (a) Both the Kṛishṇas have the metronymic Devakī-putra.
- (b) the teacher of the Upanishadic Kṛishṇa belonged to a family (Āngirasa) closely associated with the Bhojas (Big-Veda III, 53,7), the kindreds of the Epic Kṛishṇa (Mbh. ii, 14,32-34).
- (c) the Upanishadic Kṛishṇa and his Guru Ghora Āngirasa were worshippers of Sūrya. We are told in the Sāntiparva (335,19) that the Sātvata

vidhi taught by the Epic Krishna was *Prāk Sūrya-mukha-nihariṇī*.

- (d) an Āṅgirasa was the Guru of the Upanishadic Krishna. Āṅgirasi Śruti is quoted as "Śrutiñām uttamaṁ Śrutiḥ" by the Epic Krishna (Mbh. viii, 69, 85).
- (e) the Upanishadic Krishna is taught the worship of the sun, the noblest of all lights (Jyotiruttamamātī), high above all darkness (tamasaḥ pari), and also the virtues of Tapodānam īrjjavam-abi-hsā satya-vachanam. The Epic Krishna teaches practically the same thing in the Gītā (xiii, 18—Jyotiṣhamapi tajjyotiś tamashā param uchyate; xvi, 1-2—Dānam damaścha yajñaścha svādhyā-yam tapa īrjjavam abhīrā satyam).

Page 94, l. 27.—For the Hindu colony of "Kamvoja" in the Trans-Gangetic peninsula, see Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 100 ff.

Page 95, l. 14 ff.—For the Kambojas see also S. Lévi: "pre-Aryen et pre-Dravidien dans l'Inde" J. A. 1923.

Page 126, l. 22.—Dr. Smith disbelieves the Buddhist tradition about the murder of Bimbisāra by Ajātaśatru. But he does not adduce any strong and convincing argument in support of his contention that the story is "the product of *odium theologicum*," or sectarian rancour. On the contrary he shows excessive scepticism in regard to the evidences of the Pāli canon and chronicles, the general credibility of which has been maintained by scholars like Rhys Davids and Geiger whose conclusions seem to be confirmed in many respects by the testimony of independent classical and Jaina writers.

Page 138, l. 2.—The Purāṇas as well as the Mabābodhiyāśa are unanimous in taking 'Nava' to mean nine (and not new).

Page 144, l. 9.—Pargiter suggests (Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 26, n. 35) that *dvija-rābbhī* may be the correct reading instead of "deir nyabbhī."

Page 192, l. 20.—Rapson (C.H.I. pp. 514, 515) seems to think that the Gandhāras, Kambojas, Yavanas, Rāshṭrikas, Bhojas, Petenikas, Pulindas and Andhras lay beyond Aśoka's dominions, and were not his subjects, though regarded as coming within his sphere of influence. But this surmise can hardly be accepted in view of the fact that Aśoka's Dharmamahāmātras were employed amongst them "on the revision of (sentences of) imprisonment or execution, in the reduction of penalties, or (the grant of) release" (Rock Edict V). In Rock Edict XIII, they seem to be included within the Rāja-vishaya, and are distinguished from the real border peoples (*āmīta, pracharita*) viz. the Greeks of the realm of Antiochus and the Tamil peoples of the south (Niebuhr). But while we are unable to accept the views of Rapson, we find it equally difficult to agree with Prof. Bhandarkar (Aśoka, 28) who denies the existence of Yonas and others as feudatory chieftains in Aśoka's dominions. The case of the Yavanasatāja Tushāspā clearly establishes the existence of such vassal chiefs whose peoples undoubtedly enjoyed partial autonomy, though subject to the jurisdiction of special Imperial officers like the Dharmamahāmātras.

Page 195, l. 23.—Ātavi may also refer to Ālavī mentioned on page 119 *ante*.

Page 229, l. 27.—The use of regnal years by Aśoka points to the same conclusion.

Page 257, l. 30.—The form Sātivāhana is found in the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārṣyapāla, and the form Śalivahana in literature.

Page 289, l. 13.—For a discussion of the views of Rapson and Marshall about the date of the Taxila Scroll Inscription, see *Calcutta Review*, 1922, Dec., pp. 493-494.

Page 395, l. 7.—For the origin of the so-called Vikramā era see J.R.A.S., 1913, pp. 637, 994 ff.; Bhand. Com. Vol. pp. 187 ff.; C.H.I., pp. 168, 533, 571; Z.D.M.G.,

1922, pp. 250 ff. As to the expression *Kṛita* used in reference to the era in the earliest records, cf., the *Kṛitiya* rulers mentioned by Hinen Tsang (Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I. 156 ff.). The Śatavāhanas could not have founded this or any other era because they always use regnal years, and Indian literature distinguishes between *Vikrama* and *Śālivāhana*. As to the claims of Azes, see Calcutta Review, 1922, Dec., pp. 493-494; regarding *Vikrama* see Bhand. Com. Vol. cited above.

Page 296, l. 5.—For the *Traikutaka* Era see J.R.A.S., 1905, pp. 566-568.

Page 297, l. 3.—For the origin of the *Saka* era, see Fleet, C.I.I. preface, p. 56; J.R.A.S., 1913, pp. 634, 650, 987 ff.; Dabreuil, A.H.D., 26; Rapson, *Andhra-coins*, iv. Nahapāna, who was not even a Mahākshatrapa in the years 42-45 and who never became a paramount sovereign, could not have been the founder of the era. Chashṭana has no better claims, and the evidence of the *Periplus* shows that he could not have ruled at Ujjain in 78 A.D.

Page 300, l. 31.—The fame of the Kanishka Mahāvihāras remained undiminished till the days of the Pāla Kings of Bengal as is apparent from the Ghoshravan Inscription of the time of Devapāla.

Page 368, l. 6 ff.—The ascription of the title of *Vikramāditya* to Yaśodharman of Mandasor, and the representation of this chief as a ruler of Ujjain, the father of Silāditya of Mo-la-po and the father-in-law of Prabhākara-vardhana, are absolutely unwarranted.

## APPENDIX B.

### *Kingdoms, Peoples and Dynasties of Trans-Vindhyan India chronologically arranged.*

- Brahma Period :—  
1. Nishadas (capital Giriprastha, Mbh. II.1. 324.12).  
2. Vaidarbhas (capital Kandina) and other Bhojas.  
3. Dasyn tribes—Andras, Ssabas, Pulindas and Mātibas.
- Sūtra Period :—  
1. Mahismati (Māndhata?).  
2. Bhṛigu-Kacchha (Broach).  
3. Sūrpāka (Sopara in the Konkan).  
4. Atmaka (capital Paadanya).  
5. Malaka (capital Pratishthāna).  
6. Kalinga (capital Dantapura).  
7. (?) Utkala (N. Orissa).
- Rāmāyaṇa Period :—Aryan Expansion south of the Godāvarī—settlement on the Pampā—exploration of Malaya, Mabendra and Laṅka.
- Maurya Period :—  
1. Aparāntas proper (capital Sūravaruka).  
2. Bhojas (capital Kandina?)  
3. Rāshṭrikas (capital Nāsik?)  
4. Petenikas (of Pratishthāna?)  
5. Pulindas (capital Pulindanagar).  
6. Andras (capital Bezwāda?)  
7. Āpavi.  
8. Kalingas (including Tosali and Samapa).  
9. Viceroyalty of Suvarṇagiri.  
10. Ābhūra of Iṣīla.  
11. Chalas.  
12. Pāṇḍyas.  
13. Keralaputra.  
14. Satiyaputra.  
15. Tāmraparī (Ceylon).
- Maurya Empire.

- Early Post-Maurya Period :—1. Kingdom of Vidarbha.  
 2. Śātavāhanas of Dakshināpatha.  
 3. Chetas of Kalinga.  
 4. Kingdom of Pithāḍa near Masulipatam.  
 5. " " Chola.  
 6. " " Pāṇḍya.  
 7. " " Kerala.  
 8. " " Ceylon (sometimes ruled by Chola princes.)

- Age of the Periplus :—  
 1. Ariake under Mambanus (or Nambanus?).  
 2. Dachiusabades (under Saraganus and his successors) i.e., the Deccan under the Śātavāhana-Satakarnies.  
 3. Damirica including :—  
   (a) Cerobothra (Keralaputra).  
   (b) Pandian Kingdom.  
   (c) (Kingdom of) Argam (= Uragapura).  
 4. Masalia (Masulipatam).  
 5. Desarene (= Tēsali?).

- Age of Ptolemy :—1. Kingdom of Baithana (Pratishṭhāna) ruled by Pulomai (Śātavāhana).  
 2. Kingdom of Hippokoura (Kolhapur?), ruled by Baleokouras (Viliyāyakura).  
 3. Kingdom of Mousopalle (in the Kanarese Country).  
 4. " " Kareura ruled by Kerobothros (Keralaputra).  
 5. Poomnata (S. W. Mysore).  
 6. Kingdom of the Aīoi (capital Kottiara) in S. Travancore.  
 7. Kingdom of the Kareoi (Tāmraparṇi Valley).  
 8. Kingdom of Mojoura ruled by 'Pandion.'  
 9. Kingdom of the Batoi (capital Nikama).  
 10. Kingdom of Orthoora, ruled by " Sornagos."  
 11. Kingdom of Sora (Chela) ruled by Arkatos.

12. Kingdom of Malanga (Kāñebī?), ruled by Basarunagas.
13. Kingdom of Pitundra (Pithan/a).
- A.D. 150-350 — 1. Abhiras (N. Mahārāshtra and W. India).
2. Vākātakas (Berar and adjoining provinces), and chiefs of Mahākāntāra.
3. Kingdoms of South Kosala, Kaerāla, Kottor Erṇḍapalla, Devarāshṭra, Pishṭapura, Avamukta, Palakka, Kuṭhalapura.
4. Kingdom of Vengi:—(a) Ikshvākus.
- (b) Brihatphalayanas of Kudura.
- (c) Salāṅkāyanas (Salakenoi of Ptolemy?) of Vengipura.
- (d) Hastivarman of Vengi.
5. Pallavas of Kāñchi.
6. Sātakarnis of Kuntala.
- A.D. 350-500:— 1. Traikūṭakas and Mauryas of Konkan; and Lāpas, Nāgas and Gurjaras of South Gujarāt.
2. Vākātakas (C. Deccan).
3. Katachēburis (N. Mahārāshtra and Mālwa).
4. Kings of Śārabhapura (S. Kosala).
5. Kingdoms of Udra, Koṇgoda and Pishṭapura; Lenjulura (under Vishpukurajina in East Deccan).
6. Pallavas of Kāñchi (in Dravida or Dravidā).
7. Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Muṣhakas, and Keralas of the Far South.
8. Gaṅgas and Alupas of S. Mysore.
9. Bāṇas of E. Mysore and N. Arcot, Kekayas of Dīvaṇagere tāluk, Kadambas of Vaijayanṭi and Sendrakas of Nāgarakhaṇḍa (N. W. Mysore).
10. Nalas of Ballary District.

BHĀRATAVARSHA.



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## 11. Early Chalukyas of Vāṭāpi.

- After A.D. 600 :—
1. Śilāhāras of Konkan.
  2. Early Chalukyas, Rāshtrakūṭas, Later Chalukyas, Kalsachuryas and Yādavas of W. Deccan.
  3. Haihayas, Kalsachuris or Chedis of Tripari and Ratnapura, and Nāgas of Chakrakuṭa, (C.P.).
  4. Eastern Chalukyas, Chiefs of Velnāyūju, and Kākatiyas of the Telugu Country, Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and Orissa, Sabaras and Somavamsi Guptas of Mahānādi Valley (N. E. Deccan).
  5. Western Gaṅgas and Hoysalas (Mysore).
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